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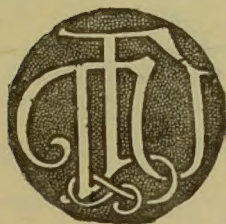
PAST AND PRESENT

BY

FRIEDRICH PAULSEN, Ph.D.

Professor of Philosophy in the University of Berlin

TRANSLATED BY T. LORENZ, Ph.D.



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PREFACE TO THE GERMAN EDITION

To comply with the request of the publishers of the present series * by treating, in one of its volumes, of German education in its historical development, has not been an uncongenial task. It did not seem to me a hopeless undertaking to attempt this subject, even within the limited space at my command, with the prospect of some gain not only to historical knowledge, but also to the general insight into the present situation and the demands of the future. It goes without saying that such an outline sketch must necessarily forego the charm which is attainable by a broader sweep of the brush, picturing times and persons in lifelike colours. But, on the other hand, it has the advantage of making the principal lines of historical development stand out more clearly, whilst, at the same time, it tends to make us look ahead and continue those unfinished lines into the future. Perhaps I may, in this way, succeed in making the history of education—so apt to lose itself in endless details or purposeless researches—subservient to the interests of the educational politics of the present day. That this standpoint entails a more rapid survey of the earlier periods and an

* The German edition (*Das Deutsche Bildungswesen in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Leipzig, 1906) was published in Teubner's popular series, *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*.

account that gains in fulness as it approaches our own days, will hardly be considered a fault.

The historical principle underlying the present treatment of this subject is the conviction that the development of education is not an isolated movement, beginning and ending in itself, but is dependent on the general progress of the inner life of mankind. I have therefore endeavoured everywhere to make the dominant tendencies of this larger movement and their influence on educational organisation stand out as clearly and distinctly as possible. To enter into the details of pedagogical opinions, of regulations and time-tables, or of practical management, not to speak of the special treatment in regard to the different territories for which they would call, was out of the question, if this account was not to be reduced to a mere collection of arid dates and facts. I should be glad if the reader could see in this short history of German education a reflected image on a smaller scale of the development of the inner life and thought of the German people.

FRIEDRICH PAULSEN.

STEGLITZ, nr. BERLIN.

TERMINOLOGICAL NOTES

BY THE TRANSLATOR

WHEREVER an adequate and unambiguous translation presented itself I have given all technical terms in English. In some instances, however, as in the case of secondary schools, it seemed advisable to retain the German names. The following survey of the more important German educational terms may be welcome to many readers for quick reference. In compiling it I have restricted myself mainly, but not absolutely, to terms mentioned or alluded to in the present volume.*

I. EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES

(1) The highest authority is the *Ministerium für geistliche, Unterrichts- und Medizinal-Angelegenheiten* (Ministry of Public Worship and Instruction and Board of Health), also called *Kultus-Ministerium*. Until 1817 it had formed a department of the *Ministerium des Innern* (Ministry of the Interior),—this educational department of the Home Office having, in its turn, replaced, in 1808, the *Ober-Schulkollegium* (Central School Board), founded by Zedlitz under Frederick William II.

The *Unterrichts-Minister* is assisted by *Referenten* (Directors) for the departments of universities and academies, of secondary and of primary education.

* It may be mentioned that Cassell's *New German Dictionary* (edited by Dr Karl Breul) deserves special commendation on account of the care bestowed on educational terms. A list of English educational terms with their German equivalents (similar to that given here of German educational terms with their English equivalents) is to be found in Dr Breul's excellent book on Secondary Schools in England (*Die Organisation des höheren Unterrichts in Grossbritannien*, 156 pp., 1897).

(2) The *Provinzial-Schulkollegien* (Provincial School Boards)—one in each province, with the highest government official of the province, *i.e.*, the *Ober-Präsident*, as its head—administer the secondary schools and the training colleges, its members, the *Provinzial-Schulräte*, acting as inspectors.

(3) The *Bezirks-Regierungen* (Cantonal Government Boards). A province is subdivided into *Bezirke* (cantons) and each *Bezirk* into *Kreise* (districts). These boards administer the elementary schools, the school inspection being performed by the authorities mentioned under (4) and (5).

(4) The *Kreis-Schulinspektor* (District School Inspector) is still, in most cases, one of the higher clergy (a *Superintendent*—see p. 77—if Protestant; an *Erzpriester*, if Roman Catholic).

(5) The *Lokal-Schulbehörde* (Local School Board) is formed, in towns, by a special education committee of the municipal authorities, whilst, in villages, it consists of the *Lokal-Schulinspektor* (Local School Inspector), as a rule, the clergyman, and an elected body.

The *Ober-Schulrat* (Educational Council), demanded by Professor Paulsen with a view to establishing a connection between the administration of the secondary and that of the primary schools (p. 293), would act as an advisory board to the Minister of Public Instruction.

II. THE UNIVERSITIES

The head (Vice-Chancellor, Principal, President, etc.) of the university is called the *Rektor*.* He is elected for the period of one year by the *ordentliche Professoren* from their own ranks. An *ordentlicher Professor* (full professor, professor-in-ordinary) is a professor who takes part not only in the teaching but also in the examining and administrative work of the faculty or special board

* This name is also given to the headmaster of some schools, especially of the more important primary schools. The head of the university is distinguished as *Rector Magnificus*.

of studies (*Fakultät*), the head of the latter being the *Dekan* (dean). An *ausserordentlicher Professor* is a lecturer who has the title of a professor, but does not belong to the faculty as an examining and administrative body, and has no vote on the faculty. Both these classes of professors receive a salary from the government in addition to the fees paid by the students for their lectures. There is a third class of academical teachers, who depend exclusively on the latter—the *Privat-Dozenten*, from whose number *Professuren* or *Lehrstühle* (professorships or chairs), which fall vacant, are usually filled, the *Privat-Dozent* becoming, as a rule, first *ausserordentlicher* and then *ordentlicher Professor*. The *Privat-Dozent* is recognised as a lecturer by the faculty (*i.e.*, *habilitiert sich* or obtains the *venia legendi*) on submitting to its approval a treatise based on extensive original research—the so-called *Habilitations-Schrift*. He must have previously taken his Doctor's degree.

The Doctor's Degree (*Doktorgrad*, *Doktorwürde*) is conferred on university students of at least three years' standing on passing a searching *viva voce* examination, and submitting to the faculty a smaller thesis (the *Doktor-Dissertation*), which should also testify to its author's equipment for original work. In the philosophical faculty the Doctor's degree always includes that of a Master of Arts. In all faculties it forms the indispensable condition of an academical career, whereas entrance into the practical professions (clerical, legal, medical, higher teaching) is obtained by a special *Staats-Prüfung* (government or civil service examination).

The Bachelor's Degree is no longer conferred at the German universities. Its place may be said to have been taken, in some respects, by the Leaving Examination, held at the secondary schools (*see below*), which precedes the matriculation (*Immatrikulation*) at the university.

The undergraduates (*Studenten*) enjoy *akademische Freiheit* (academic freedom), *i.e.*, an almost absolute freedom from control of any kind, including the *Lernfreiheit*, *i.e.*, the absolute freedom of the student to attend

whatever lectures he likes—the “elective system,” as Professor Thilly has rendered it.

Lectures (*Vorlesungen*) form the principal part of academical teaching. For senior students, however, *Seminare* have been established in connection with all important branches of learning (*Philologisches Seminar, Psychologisches Seminar*, etc., etc.), i.e., small advanced classes where original work is done under the guidance of the professor. *Pro-Seminare* serve similar purposes for less advanced students. These *Universitäts-Seminare* must not be confounded with the *Lehrer-Seminare* (Training Colleges, see below).

The German names of the institutions mentioned on p. 197 are:—

<i>Technische Hochschulen</i>	.	.	Technical High Schools
<i>Berg-Akademien</i>	.	.	Mining Academies
<i>Forst-Akademien</i>	.	.	Schools of Forestry
<i>Landwirtschaftliche Hochschulen</i>	.	.	Agricultural Colleges
<i>Tierärztliche Hochschulen</i>	.	.	Veterinary Colleges
<i>Handels-Hochschulen</i>	.	.	Commercial Academies
<i>Kriegs-Akademien</i>	.	.	Military Academies
<i>Artillerie-Schulen</i>	.	.	Schools of Gunnery
<i>Ingenieur-Schulen</i>	.	.	Schools of Engineering

III. SECONDARY EDUCATION

There are now three types of secondary schools *—nearly all day schools † with a nine years' course, preceded by a preparatory course of three years—(1) the *Gymnasium* or Classical School, where all scholars are taught both Latin and Greek; (2) the *Real-Gymnasium* or Semi-Classical School, where Latin is taught to all, but not Greek; and (3) the *Ober-Realschule* or Highest Grade Non-Classical or Modern School, where only modern subjects are taught.

The *Real-Gymnasium*, together with the *Ober-Real-*

* Called *Mittel-Schulen* in some parts of Southern Germany and in Austria. See IV. Elementary Schools.

† With the exception of *Schulpforta* (see p. 66) and similar institutions.

schule, has taken the place of the former *Realschule I. Ordnung* (First Grade Non-Classical School), whereas the old *Realschule II. Ordnung* (Second Grade Non-Classical School) is now known simply as *Realschule* (Non-Classical School). The latter has a six years' course, corresponding more or less to that of the former *Höhere Bürgerschule* (Higher Grade Municipal or Middle Class * School), which was, in Prussia, from 1859 to 1882, the official designation of a school comprising the curriculum of the lower and middle stages of the *Realschule I. Ordnung*. At present the name is no longer in official use in Prussia.

The prefix "*Real-*" in *Realschule*, etc., is connected with *Realien*, which word denotes the exact sciences (as subjects of instruction). Educational "*Realism*" (*Realismus*) lays stress on the latter, while Humanism favours the classical languages. In all the better German schools modern languages now usually claim to be called the "new humanities."

The prefix "*Pro-*" (e.g., *Pro-Gymnasium*) designates a school comprising only the lower and middle stages, *i.e.*, a six years' course, up to and including *Unter-Sekunda* (see below.)

At the secondary schools instruction in all-important subjects is given exclusively by *Oberlehrer* (Higher Teachers), *i.e.*, teachers who have studied at least three years at a university and then passed a searching scientific and practical examination (the *Oberlehrer-Prüfung*), by which they obtain an *Oberlehrer-Zeugnis*, and become qualified to teach in the highest forms of secondary schools. After a certain number of years the *Oberlehrer* receives the title of a professor (*Gymnasial-professor*, etc.). Accordingly, "*Oberlehrer*" should not be confounded with "headmaster," the latter being usually called *Direktor* in German secondary schools. The *Oberlehrer* thus are "assistant-masters," whereas the

* It should be noted that the German word *Mittel-Klassen* (*Bürgerstand*) always includes the lower middle classes, and that the boundary line between the upper and the middle classes would seem to be drawn somewhat lower than in England.

German *Hilfslehrer* is a visiting master, or a master who is not on the staff of the school.

The official Leaving-Examination (*Abgangs-, Reife- or Maturitäts-Prüfung, Abiturienten-Examen, Abiturium or Maturum*), held * at the secondary schools with a nine years' course, has now everywhere supplanted the former matriculation examination, held at the university itself. The Leaving-Certificate (*Abgangs-, Reife-, or Abiturienten-Zeugnis*) is now the only passport admitting youths of German birth to the university.

After the completion of a six years' course of studies, *i.e.*, on promotion from *Unter-* to *Ober-Sekunda* (see below), the *Einjährig-Freiwilligen-Zeugnis* or *Einjährigen-Schein* is granted—a certificate restricting the compulsory military service of its owner to one instead of two or three years. (He also enjoys other special privileges, but has to serve with the colours at his own expense.)

The names of the forms (beginning with the elementary stage) are as follows: *Sexta* (6th), *Quinta* (5th), *Quarta* (4th), *Unter-Tertia* (Lower 3rd), *Ober-Tertia* (Upper 3rd), *Unter-Sekunda* (Lower 2nd), *Ober-Sekunda* (Upper 2nd), *Unter-Prima* (Lower 1st), *Ober-Prima* (Upper 1st). Thus, *Ober-Prima* (Ia) corresponds to the English VIa. *Unter-Sekunda* (IIb) to the English Vb, etc.

As to secondary schools for girls (*Höhere Töchter- or Mädchen-Schulen* = "high schools for girls"; *Lyzeen*, *i.e.*, *Gymnasien* for girls) see p. 232 s.

IV. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Training of Teachers—Continuation Schools

The elementary or primary school is called *Volks-Schule*, *i.e.*, "national school." In Prussia the *Mittel-Schule* (intermediate school) is the name of a higher grade primary school, standing on the boundary line of secondary education. In other German states, how-

* Usually about Easter and sometimes at Michaelmas.

ever, as in Bavaria, and also in Austria, "*Mittel-Schule*" means "secondary school."

The *Lehrer-Seminare* (Training Colleges for elementary teachers) are, as a rule, day schools, connected with an *Übungs-Schule* (Normal School). The masters are called *Seminar-Lehrer*, the headmaster's name is *Seminar-Direktor*. The pupils are called *Seminaristen*. *Präparanden* are the pupils of the *Präparanden-Anstalten* (Preparatory Training Schools), where they are prepared for admission to the *Lehrer-Seminar*.

The Technical and other Continuation schools (*Fach-und andere Fortbildungs-Schulen*) are usually carried on as evening classes.

The (Scandinavian) "People's High Schools" are colleges for young working-men (similar to Ruskin College in Oxford), who reside there during the winter, while the summer months are devoted to their regular farm work, etc. Other *Volks-Hochschul-Kurse* have occasionally been started in imitation of the English "University Extension" courses. The *Volksbildungs-Vereine* arrange popular evening continuation courses and classes.

V. MISCELLANEOUS TERMS

allseitige Bildung : (as party phrase) all-round education; (in ordinary conversation) liberal education.

Anschauungs - Unterricht : object - lessons, intuitive method, pictorial instruction.

Aufklärung : enlightenment; *Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, era of Enlightenment, more or less synonymous and contemporary with the age of Rationalism, the prevalence of Wolff's ideas marking its culmination in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Dom-Schulen : (mediæval) Cathedral schools.

Einheits-Schule : a school calculated or attempting to satisfy divergent educational requirements, more especially in the domain of secondary education, which was temporarily restricted to one single

type of school (p. 203). The same term now also sometimes serves to denote a *Schule mit gemeinsamem Unterbau*, i.e., a secondary school, the curriculum of which is so arranged that the lower and part of the middle forms are suitable for boys who will ultimately obtain either a classical or a modern education, as is the case in the *Reform-Schulen* (p. 225).

Externat : day school.

formale Bildung : (party phrase), formative education, formative studies, calculated to develop the faculties of the mind rather than to impart positive knowledge—synonymous with *Geistes-Gymnastik* (mental gymnastics).

Fürsten-Schulen : *Landes-Schulen*.

Gelehrten-Schule : secondary school (highest grade), more especially, classical school.

Gewerbe-Schulen : a name formerly in use for secondary schools with a course of at least six years, out of which the *Ober-Realschulen* were developed.

hospitieren : to be an occasional visitor at lessons or lectures for the sake of study or criticism.

interkonfessionell : undenominational. See "*konfessionell*."

Internat : boarding-school.

Kadetten-Anstalt : military school for intending officers.

Klassen-Lehrer : form master.

Kloster-Schulen : (mediæval) monastery schools; convent schools; sometimes = *Landes-Schulen*.

konfessionell : denominational; *konfessionslos* (*interkonfessionell*, *paritätisch* s.b.), undenominational. It must be understood that in the present volume these expressions refer exclusively to the difference between the Protestant (Reformed) and Roman Catholic creeds, sects being a negligible quantity in Germany. "The Church" means the Protestant or the Catholic Church according to the context. A school frequented by both creeds side by side is called *Simultan-Schule*. In these institutions separate religious instruction is provided,

while the teachers of the other subjects are taken from both confessions approximately in the same proportions in which the latter are represented by the pupils. Professor Paulsen contends that these "*paritätische*" or "*interkonfessionelle*" ("interdenominational") schools cannot properly be called "*konfessionslos*" (undenominational); he would restrict the latter term to schools where religious instruction itself is undenominational.

konfessionslos : undenominational. See *konfessionell*.

Konvikt : hostel (mostly Roman Catholic).

Kulturkampf : the struggle of the Prussian government with the Church of Rome, inaugurated by the May laws of 1873.

Landes-Schulen : Territorial Schools. See p. 65.

Lyzeum : usually = *Gymnasium* for girls, but sometimes also used instead of *Gymnasium* (for boys).

Ordinarius = *Klassen-Lehrer*.

paritätisch : undenominational. See "*konfessionell*."

Probejahr : year of probation (now usually two years) for higher teachers.

Reform-Schule : see *Einheits-Schule*.

Ritter-Akademien : boarding-schools (in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) for the sons of the nobility and gentry (*Ritter*, knight), see p. 112.

Schulamts-Kandidat : a young man who wishes to become a teacher.

Seminarjahr : the year during which higher teachers receive practical training at the *Gymnasial-Seminar*.

Simultan-Schule : undenominational school. See "*konfessionell*."

Stadt-Schulen or *städtische Sch.* : (mediæval) city-schools; municipal schools.

Stift : hostel (Protestant)

Stifts-Schulen : College Schools, *i.e.*, schools attached to the chapters of collegiate churches which were not cathedrals.

Überbürdung : overtaxing, overtasking, cramming, overpressure (French, *surmenage*).

I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to render thanks to all those who have kindly assisted me in the present work. My thanks are addressed in the first place to Professor Paulsen himself, who has taken an active interest in this English edition; and further to Professor M. E. Sadler and to Dr Karl Breul of Cambridge, who have favoured me with expert advice on several points; but above all, to my dear friend, Mr George Unwin, who has rendered me valuable assistance throughout the progress of my translation.

FIR COTTAGE, IGHTHAM, KENT,

March 1908.

BOOK I

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF
THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER I

THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE MIDDLE AGES

MAKING due allowance for the one-sidedness and exaggeration without which no such attempt is possible, one might describe the general character of the three great epochs of European civilisation, as revealed in the progress of education, by saying that, in ancient times, the individual was educated for the State, in the Middle Ages for the Church, and in modern times for himself.

Distinctive
features of
education
in ancient
mediæval
and
modern
times.

In ancient times social life was dominated by the State, *i.e.*, the sovereign city. Hence, the goal of education was to render the rising generation fit to serve their city efficiently in peace and war, and thus to maintain its permanent existence. This alone gave the life of the individual an object and a significance, raising him beyond the sphere of individual and temporal concerns: to serve the city meant to serve its gods.

In the Middle Ages social life was encompassed and dominated by the Church, and the goal of education could therefore be no other than to draw the rising generation within the circle of religious influences provided by the Church, and thereby enable them to realise their last and highest end—citizenship in the eternal kingdom of God.

In modern times the State has risen to be a power independent of, and, in the end, even superior to the Church. It is the conflict between these two objective forces of social life which has made it

possible for the individual to lay the foundation of a more independent existence. The development of individual personality as a free and sovereign power has been the real theme of modern history since the days of the Renaissance and the Reformation. This tendency has made itself felt more and more in the domain of education no less than elsewhere; to educate man as a reasonable being, free to determine his own life, has grown to be the dominant ideal.

Clerical
character
of medi-
æval edu-
cation.

If we now turn our glance more particularly to the educational system of the Middle Ages, the predominance of the Church, presupposing an after-life and based on a transcendental religion, becomes apparent in two respects. Firstly, general education, comprising the moral and intellectual culture of the whole community, including the training of youth, was of an exclusively religious and ecclesiastical character; it was education by the Church and for the Church—not for this life, but for eternity. Secondly, the clergy were the only class provided with special educational facilities, with public institutions for moral and intellectual training. The education given and received by the regular and secular clergy was the only professional education in the proper sense imparted in public establishments. The laity had no special schools of their own, and it is not until towards the close of the Middle Ages that the first beginnings of such schools become discernible. Until then the laity had to depend, so to speak, on the hospitality of the clerical schools, and had therefore, as guests, to submit, in every respect, to the rules of the house laid down by the clergy in regard to the subjects and methods of doctrine and discipline.

The organisation of education was closely connected with the structure of mediæval society. Its

principal division was that into clergy and laity, regulars and seculars forming the sub-divisions of the former, while amongst the masses of the laity a ruling military class gradually differentiated itself from the peasantry as a special profession forming the order of chivalry. During the last centuries of the Middle Ages, which witnessed the emancipation of the cities, a further differentiation took place, that of the bourgeois or middle classes, composed of the free citizens

Amongst these four estates the clergy occupied the first place. They were the recognised leaders of social life, and, at any rate in the sphere of intellectual life, their leadership was undisputed. They set the standards of faith and morals; it was their task not merely to care for the souls, but to form the minds of their flocks. As far as the clerical estate was concerned, an organised professional education could not but seem indispensable. The arts and sciences which they required for the fulfilment of their professional duties, from the most elementary, such as reading and writing, to the highest—the interpretation of divine revelation in the Scriptures and the guidance of souls in accordance with the divine will—could not be acquired except by methodical and systematic instruction. Add to this the peculiar circumstance that all these branches of learning, both those that furnished the means of study and those that were concerned with its ends, were only accessible through the medium of a foreign tongue, the language of the Roman Church. And Latin, in its turn, pointed further back to Greek and Hebrew, the languages in which the Holy Scriptures were originally composed. Thus the clergy came to represent learning in general. A certain amount of scholarship, some familiarity with the art of writing

and the language of the Church, together with some practice in singing and the clerical duties, was a matter of necessity, even for the humblest member of their profession. To meet these requirements, the Monastery, the Cathedral and the College Schools were called into being.

The aristocracy.

The second class, that of the lay aristocracy, was not held, in the Middle Ages, to require any such professional education in public institutions. It may be that the arts of war and secular government do not lend themselves so readily to systematic instruction as those of the priest and teacher. At any rate they were acquired, in those days, by practice from childhood rather than by methodical instruction. If it became unavoidable now and then to have recourse to scholarly attainments, to the art of writing and the Latin language, the clergy were at hand, ready to offer their services as secretaries and chancellors. And in cases where it was considered desirable for the sons of the aristocracy to have some acquaintance with the "clerical arts" they acquired them where they were taught anyhow—in the clerical schools. Nor did any alteration take place in this state of things when the lay aristocracy (who, since the time of the Crusades, had attained to a professional organisation in the order of chivalry) became the representatives of a kind of secular culture which found expression in the poetry of the knights. This culture was not regarded as "learning," nor was it acquired by academic instruction. In the Middle Ages no want was felt for schools specially adapted to the needs of young cavaliers like the "Ritter-Akademien" of the seventeenth century. The future knight acquired those arts and attainments which became his station at the court of some prince or nobleman, where he

had to take part in the routine of daily life from his early youth. Younger sons of the aristocracy, intended for Holy Orders, entered the chapters of collegiate churches as canonical scholars (*canonici scholares*) when still boys.

The peasantry and the trading classes of the towns were, of course, still less in need of public institutions for their professional education. The peasant boy acquired at home the various forms of skill he had to practise in his daily life, while the sons of artisans and merchants entered the workshop or business of a master as apprentices. And here again, in cases where the progress of municipal life rendered some proficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic necessary, attendance at a monastery or parochial school placed the facilities for its acquisition within everybody's reach. It was not until towards the close of the Middle Ages that the increasing demand led to the establishment of institutions independent of the ecclesiastic supply—the City-Schools. This word must not, however, be understood to denote anything like the schools provided for the middle classes of our own times. Indeed, as far as the methods and the subjects of teaching were concerned, there was hardly any difference between them and the clerical schools.

It should also be observed that, in the Middle Ages, the education of youth did not aim in the first place at the transmission of knowledge and learning, as it does in modern Germany, but rather at the training of the will and the affections. By education was understood above all the moulding of the inner life of man into an attitude of belief and obedience—belief in the doctrine of salvation, obedience to the Church, and faith towards God and men. The atmosphere in which youth grew up was reverence and obedience, not reasoning and free self-deter-

The peasant and the burgher.

Ethical and religious tendencies.

mination. Learning itself everywhere proceeded essentially in the form of obedient reception: learning by heart and the repetition of what had been thus acquired constituted the method of instruction.

Two periods in the history of mediæval education.

In the history of mediæval education two great epochs must be distinguished—a first half, extending until the twelfth, and a second extending until the fifteenth century.

The difference between these two periods may be described as follows. The general character of the first half of the Middle Ages is determined by the purely receptive attitude of the youthful nations, and particularly of the German people, towards the Church and classical antiquity. As faithful pupils they received the sacred doctrine, offered to them by the Church, together with the treasures of classical culture, which the Church had half reluctantly assimilated in the country of its origin. During the second half, a greater striving for independence manifested itself. There was an attempt to comprehend the sacred doctrine by the exercise of individual reasoning and to permeate it with secular science and philosophy. The great systems of scholastic philosophy and theology are the outcome of this striving.

Intellectual was closely connected with social development. The vigorous upgrowth of city life prepared the soil for the new intellectual movement. In the domain of education these changes immediately revealed themselves in the development of two new types of educational institutions—the universities and the city-schools, both of which had their roots in municipal life. The universities soon pushed the old monastery and college schools into the background, while in the city-schools the advance

of the bourgeoisie into the domain of intellectual culture found a visible expression.

Some changes which took place in the religious orders also deserve to be mentioned. In the thirteenth century the new orders of the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians were founded and soon spread over the whole Western world. They differed from the older orders, *i.e.*, the Benedictines and their numerous offspring, in that they had their settlements in the towns, whereas the former preferred to fix their habitations in rural solitude. And whilst the older orders retired altogether from the world, the friars sought from the first to bring the surrounding world under their influence. They aimed not merely at saving their own souls but at regenerating the world by their teaching and preaching. The order of the Dominicans deserved the name of a teaching and preaching order above any other; they were in that respect the predecessors of the Jesuits. The Dominicans and the Franciscans counted the most eminent of the great teachers and systematic philosophers at the mediæval universities amongst their ranks. Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and also Master Eckhart were Dominicans; Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon and Occam, Franciscans.

Religious
Orders.

CHAPTER II

FIRST HALF OF THE MIDDLE AGES—MONASTERY, CATHEDRAL AND COLLEGE SCHOOLS (600-1200)

Monastery
Schools.

THE first beginnings of an educational organisation among the German people date back to the seventh century. When, on the continent, the last remains of the Roman educational system had gradually become extinct in the kingdom of the Merovingians, the Irish and Anglo-Saxon monks who brought Christianity across the sea to the German tribes, brought also the rudiments of learning, which had become incorporated in the life of the Church. The Benedictine convents, founded in Bavaria, Suabia, Thuringia and Hessa, were the oldest educational establishments on German soil; Fulda, Reichenau, St Gallen and Tegernsee were famous names in their day. The Monastery School originally came into being as an institution devoted to the training of future members of the convent. But afterwards boys not destined for monastic life also found admission as pupils, and as their numbers grew a separate *Schola externa* was added to the *Schola interna*, as may be seen on the plan of the convent of St Gallen, which has been preserved.*

Cathedral
and
College
Schools.

The second starting-point for a system of clerical education was furnished by the bishopric. It was the bishop's duty to provide for the training of the secular clergy of his diocese. Out of the appointment of one of the cathedral clergy to superintend

* Specht, *l.c.*, p. 152.

the instruction of the future members of that body arose the Cathedral Schools. These were soon followed by the College Schools, in which the clergy of the collegiate churches sought in the same way to provide educational facilities for their own successors. The prosperity of all these establishments was greatly enhanced by the widespread acceptance of the reforms introduced by Bishop Chrodegang of Metz (742-766), which made it obligatory upon the clergy of the cathedral and collegiate churches to lead a common life under monastic rule.

These scattered seed-plots of learning were taken in hand systematically and energetically when Charles the Great succeeded to the Frankish throne. The founder of the new Universal Empire, which aimed at restoring to the Western world the unity which had disappeared with the fall of Rome, aspired to be the educator as well as the ruler of the nations under his sway. In Italy he had come into close contact with the world of classical antiquity, surviving in countless monuments and traditions, and, with that quick, receptive sense for actualities that distinguished him, he threw himself with untiring zeal into the task of fertilising the inner life of his subjects by drawing upon the rich resources of ancient culture. His court became the meeting-place of the most prominent scholars of his time; he intimately associated with them and did not disdain to become their pupil. Amongst them we find Alcuin the Anglo-Saxon, the master of the sciences of grammar, rhetoric and dialectics, whose text-books on these subjects are still extant; further, Paulus Diaconus the Langobard, well versed in Greek, and Bishop Theodulf of Orleans, a Latin poet of great renown. The Palace School (*Schola Palatina*) was re-established and placed under Alcuin's direction;

the king sent his own sons and daughters to be instructed there, together with the children of the magnates of his household. Later on, when Abbot of St Martin's at Tours, Alcuin founded in that city the famous school which, as the centre of higher education in the Frankish empire, made its influence felt throughout wide territories. One of its most celebrated pupils was Hrabanus Maurus, who, in his later position as head of the monastery school of Fulda, created a school after the model of Alcuin's on German soil.

There was, of course, no one outside the Church on whose assistance the king could count in prosecuting his educational endeavours on a large scale. He took the clergy therefore into his service. In his circular, addressed to the bishops and abbots of his empire,* he set forth a kind of programme, the leading idea of which was the same as that urged by Luther, some seven centuries afterwards, in his "Epistle to the Magistrates"—Scripture cannot be properly understood without the study of language and literature. The great number of badly-composed addresses and petitions, he explained, had made him anxious lest a lack of scholarship might lead to an equal lack of comprehension of the Holy Scriptures. "Therefore we beseech you not to neglect your literary studies, but to evince in them a humble and godly emulation, the better to fit yourselves to fathom the mysteries of Holy Writ. For inasmuch as the Scripture contains figures and tropes, etc., there is no doubt that the earlier and sounder the literary instruction which a reader has received the better will he be able to grasp the spiritual meaning." †

* *Epistola de litteris colendis* (about 787).

† *Monum. Germ. Legum Sect. II. Capit. regum Franc. I. 79*, where may also be found the other rescripts of Charles the Great concerning matters educational.

At the instance of the king the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle afterwards (789) made it a general rule that schools should be attached to all convents and chapters, in which boys were to be taught the plain chant of the Church, reading, singing, the Christian Calendar and the Latin language. At the same time some pressure was exerted by the regulation that priest's orders could only be received on passing an examination, the requirements for which were strictly and carefully stipulated. Candidates had to show that they knew and understood all the sacred books necessary for the pursuit of their profession, that they could sing the plain chant after the Roman method, and that they were able to compose documents and letters—everything, needless to say, in Latin.

Besides these regulations concerning the professional training of those destined for the Church, Charlemagne also aimed at raising the level of the general education of the people. Such a statement would, of course, be quite misleading, if it suggested modern ideas of primary schools with compulsory attendance. It would have been alike impossible and useless to teach Frankish or Saxon warriors or peasants reading and writing. What really was attempted was an instruction in the rudiments of the Christian faith. This instruction naturally followed the method which was then adopted for all teaching, and which was still in vogue centuries afterwards for the same kind of instruction. The pupils had to repeat the teacher's words until they knew them by heart; the teacher heard and explained what they had learned. All clergymen were enjoined by repeated edicts of the king to teach all their parishioners—men, women and children—at least the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, so that they could

recite them, and the bishops were requested to enforce their compliance with that duty. Negligent or recalcitrant parishioners of both sexes were to be punished by flogging or fasting, and whoever refused to submit was to be brought before the king himself (*"ad nostram presentiam dirigatur"*).

All these regulations, however, would, after all, seem to form part of the king's general system of regulating Church and State rather than of his educational administration. The spirit in which they were really conceived becomes apparent in the stipulation (afterwards dropped as impracticable) that the Creed and the Lord's Prayer should be learned and recited by every one in Latin. They were evidently looked upon as a kind of magic formula, which, like the rites of baptism and Christian burial, exerted an intrinsic power of their own, while at the same time they expressed the submission of those who used them to the system which they represented. To the history of education, therefore, all these regulations are perhaps less relevant than the further injunction that choristers should be maintained in all parishes, that they should be taught reading and singing, and that other boys should be admitted to such instruction without any remuneration other than voluntary presents.

Further
develop-
ments.

So much for the endeavours of Charles the Great to imbue the nations under his rule with the culture of Christian antiquity. To what extent they were crowned with success it is difficult in the absence of any kind of statistics to judge. No doubt the distance that separated the promulgation of reforms by royal decree and its realisation in practice was even greater in those times than it is to-day. Wherever zealous bishops and abbots complied with his directions schools sprang up and flourished; but where

they failed to do so there was no remedy, as no means of compulsion were available. It is probable that after the king's death a relaxation in the pressure from above caused in many cases a relapse into former indolence. But, on the other hand, there was no lack, in the following years, of a wholesome hunger for education in the soul of the youthful nation, nor of spiritual and secular lords who were anxious to appease it. The Ottos on the German throne, related as they were to the Greek emperors, enriched intellectual culture with new impulses and new elements. The Saxons, who had at first accepted Christianity only in a half-hearted way, were not long in assimilating it, and famous seats of clerical learning were soon to be met with on Saxon soil, Münster and Corvey being followed by Hildesheim, whose fame outlasted centuries. The schools attached to the cathedral of Magdeburg and to the convent of Bergen were outposts in the East, and the survey given by Specht shows that, on the Rhine as well as in the South, old seats of learning held their own, while new ones grew up by their side.

On the whole we may take it for granted that the general level of clerical education continued to rise gradually. The brilliant splendour which had emanated from the court of Charlemagne vanished; the outburst of literary productivity which had suddenly lighted up the Dark Ages subsided. But the ever-increasing number of schools attached to convents and chapters could hardly have failed to bear fruits, however unpretending and slow to ripen these may have been. I do not doubt that, at the end of the twelfth century, scholastic education was much more widely prevalent than at the end of the Carolingian period. It is easy to be misguided in that respect by enthusiastic encomiums on the age of the first

Renaissance no less than by occasional complaints about the general low ebb of learned studies or the decay of some school or other once famous. Without assuming a gradual advance of this kind it would indeed be quite impossible to account for the sudden rise of the universities in the thirteenth century, which grew entirely out of the concourse of multitudes both of the clergy and the laity, eager in the pursuit of knowledge, but bringing with them already the rudiments of learning, and especially of the Latin language.

Methods
and sub-
jects of
teaching.

A few words may be said here concerning the curriculum of these old cathedral and monastery schools. The goal of the instruction provided by them, which was, of course, not reached by all pupils, was the scientific comprehension of divine wisdom as revealed in the Holy Scriptures; for *Sacra theologia* was looked upon as the highest science. Three natural stages may be distinguished on the way leading up to this ultimate goal: the elementary stage, the middle stage, and the higher and final stage. The first stage began with the learning by rote of the alphabet with the aid of an A B C tablet. Then followed reading, which was of course in Latin; and at the same time the pupils began learning the psalms by heart. Then came writing, practised on wax tablets; the use of pen, ink and parchment betokened the full mastership of the art, and real caligraphy was a highly valued art indeed. Side by side with such exercises, singing was practised every day. The second stage comprised the preliminary studies of a general character. They were ranged, in mediæval times, according to the encyclopædic system of the seven liberal arts (*artes liberales*) first set forth in the fifth century by Marcianus Capella. This system consisted of two parts—the

Trivium and the *Quadrivium*. The former included the *artes formales* or *sermonicales* : grammar, rhetoric, dialectics; the latter the *artes reales* : arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy. Grammar, of course, meant Latin grammar. Various preparatory exercises in Latin, like reading, writing and learning by heart, had already been undertaken in the first stage. But now the language was taught systematically with the help first of Donatus and later of Priscianus; at the same time, Latin authors were read of the classical as well as the Christian period—Virgil played a predominant part. The instruction in rhetoric, for which Cicero's treatise *De Inventione* was used as a favourite text-book, mainly consisted in directions for the correct composition of documents of all kinds, which incidentally afforded an opportunity for the imparting of some legal knowledge. Dialectics, taught principally according to the writings of Boetius, showed how to handle concepts after the rules of art; regular disputations increased the skill in grasping and refuting arguments. The foremost use of arithmetic was in fixing the seasons of the Christian calendar (*computus*). Geometry was much neglected, and indeed in former times that title covered what knowledge existed concerning the earth and the situation of the various countries! Music occupied an important place on account of its leading *role* in divine service; Boetius' five books *De Musica* formed the basis for the studies in the theory of music. Astronomy was also brought into connection with the ecclesiastical system through the help it gave in determining the times of the annual festivals as well as of the hours of daily devotion (*Horæ*), and was therefore nowhere left quite out of account.

All these secular sciences, however, were subservient to the ultimate goal which asserted its

predominance in the third stage, *i.e.*, to theology, the scientific knowledge of revealed truth. Theoretically, value was attached to them only in so far as they could further the interpretation of the Scripture. Now and then the joy given by new knowledge or by the growing power of self-expression may have caused the goal to be lost sight of. But in theory all these secular arts, of pagan parentage as they were, had no right to exist except in so far as they served theology. This is especially to be said of the classical writers. Their use was admitted in so far as it was indispensable for the knowledge of language, literary and metrical form, mythology—in short, of that world of classical antiquity in the midst of which the literature of Christianity had indeed grown up. And thus, youthful conceit might sometimes exercise its wits in the imitation of classical models, or even deck out sacred things in all the tinsel of outward beauty, just as the Israelites—it is a simile we often find quoted—appropriated, at the time of the exodus, gold and silver utensils of the Egyptians and transformed them into sacred vessels. But then again anxiety made itself felt with greater emphasis, in individuals as well as in whole generations, lest the soul might be tainted by the alien spirit and defiled, in reading the pagan poets, with their voluptuousness and lewdness. At such times the Christian poets were taken from the shelves to supplant the Classics, especially in teaching youth. At no time, however, was there a general reaction in that sense officially acknowledged by the Church itself. Even the Puritan movement of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was not able to bring this about.

Education
of women.

It may be added that the female sex was not altogether excluded from this literary education

provided by the Mediaeval Church. Convent life made it accessible to them, and learned nuns were by no means a rarity. Nunneries, like monasteries, became seats of learning, open also to those who did not intend taking the veil—generally, of course, these were maidens of gentle birth. This condition of things prevailed all through the second half of the Middle Ages right into the time of the Renaissance. While women were not admitted to the new universities the practice was continued of sending young girls of good family to be educated in a convent. Their intellectual education rose in value in proportion as the social status of women was advanced by the rise of chivalry. It may be assumed that during the height of chivalric culture the intellectual and literary education of women was, with hardly any exceptions, at least not inferior to that of the stronger sex, whose military training and profession did not leave much room for scientific studies.

CHAPTER III

SECOND HALF OF THE MIDDLE AGES—UNIVERSITIES AND CITY-SCHOOLS (1200-1500)

Rise of the
universi-
ties.

THE rise of the universities at the beginning of the thirteenth century marks a new epoch in the history of Western education. An overmastering passion for the pursuit of knowledge called into existence new sciences. The name of Abelard is associated with a new speculative theology and philosophy, daring to conceive of divine truth as comprehensible by human reason and perhaps even as subject to human criticism. That of Irnerius with a new jurisprudence, which was primarily a science of the old Roman Law, growing up alongside but independent of the Canon Law; and that of Albertus Magnus, the Universal Doctor, with a new physical and medical science, based on the re-discovered writings of Aristotle together with those of the Arab scholars, and with the beginnings of a free investigation of nature.

All these new strivings after knowledge found appropriate expression towards the close of the thirteenth century in a new institution, that independent but officially recognised corporation of scholars which came to be known as the University. The South and the West led the way:—Italy (Bologna, Salerno), France (Paris, Montpellier), England (Oxford, Cambridge), Spain (Salamanca). The East and the North, including Germany, followed their lead after the middle of the fourteenth

Schools—Universities (1200-1500) 21

century. The oldest universities within the limits of the old German empire were Prague (1349), Vienna (1365), Heidelberg (1385), Cologne (1388), Erfurt (1392), Leipsic (1409), Rostock (1419). As a matter of fact, however, educational institutions in which the pursuit of learning was carried on in exactly the same way as at the universities had existed in Germany for a considerable time; Cologne and Erfurt, for instance, had long been famous as seats of theological and philosophical learning. Nine further universities were added to those already enumerated during a second period comprising the years from 1456 to 1506: Greifswald (1456), Freiburg (1457), Bale (1459), Ingolstadt (1472), Treves (1473), Mayence (1477), Tübingen (1477), Wittenberg (1504), Frankfort-on-the-Oder (1506). The university of Paris was, in the main, the great model for the German universities, and Paris remained the recognised centre of all philosophical and theological studies.

As regards their constitution, the universities were founded as independent corporations of teachers and students, invested with certain privileges by the spiritual and secular authorities. The name *universitas* denotes their legal status as corporations; the term *studium generale* indicates the universality of the learning imparted in them, whilst *studium privilegiatum* (privileged school) conveys the prerogatives and exemptions which they enjoyed. The more important amongst these were three in number. Firstly, the right of teaching, holding examinations, and conferring the degrees of *Baccalaurius*, *Magister* and *Doctor*; this right was always vested in them by the spiritual authority, the Roman Curia. Secondly, the right of exercising self-government by the issue of their own statutes and regulations.

Their constitution.

Thirdly, the right of separate jurisdiction over their own members, who were exempt from citation before the ordinary law courts, to which was added immunity from taxes and imposts—a privilege granted by the territorial or municipal authority.

For the fuller exercise of these privileges the mediæval university possessed a two-fold organisation. For the purpose of controlling the teaching and the examinations the university was divided into faculties, three for special studies, *i.e.*, the faculties of Theology, of Law and of Medicine, and one of a more general character, the faculty of Arts, based upon a re-organisation of the old *Artes liberales*. This was the lowest faculty and it stood half-way between the grammar schools (which restricted their teaching more and more to the Latin language) and the professional studies in one of the upper faculties. Each faculty elected a dean as its head. The principal business of the faculties was to arrange and distribute the lectures, to hold disputations, conduct examinations and confer degrees. In bestowing the degree of Master, the academic body was at the same time replenishing its own ranks; for the title of a Master of Arts or Doctor carried with it the right of lecturing in the faculty which had conferred it. At this point, it should be noted, the bond between the corporation of scholars and the Church as the highest authority in all questions of doctrine was always kept in view. Some dignitary of the Church was installed as Chancellor of the university, and his concurrence was necessary in granting the licence, although it was of a more or less formal nature.

For the purposes of self-government and jurisdiction the *universitas* was divided into “nations,” in which teachers and students were enrolled according to the country of their birth. They elected their

own presidents (*procuratores*) and treasurers. The head of the whole community was the *Rektor*, the chosen president of the *universitas*, in many cases a student of distinguished family, who enjoyed the honours and defrayed the expenses, while an older member of the university managed the business. It should be added that, at the German universities, the "nations" soon became extinct or left but scanty survivals. From the outset they had been institutions established by the decree of authority rather than spontaneously formed organisations like those at the Italian and French universities.

Teaching was carried on according to firmly established rules. The scope of instruction was, in all its main outlines, determined by tradition. It proceeded, in all sciences alike, on the basis of canonical text-books. In the theological faculty the substance of the doctrine was laid down by the Holy Scriptures and the dogma of the Church; only in the task of interpreting, systematising and confirming those doctrines was there scope for individual thought. In the legal faculty the subject-matter was determined in a similar way—ecclesiastical law by the canons and decrees of the councils and the Roman Curia; Roman law by the code of Justinian. Nothing was left here either for the teacher to do but to interpret and systematise. In the two lower faculties individual thought may have been granted a somewhat ampler scope; but even here an approved doctrine, laid down in standard text-books, occupied the field. In the medical faculty the writings of Hippocrates and Galen enjoyed a sort of canonical authority, exactly like those of Aristotle in the philosophical faculty; to acquire a knowledge of their contents was the essential object of these studies.

Subjects of
instruc-
tion.

Methods
of teach-
ing.

The method adopted at the mediæval universities followed naturally from the subject-matter that had to be dealt with as just described. In all four faculties alike it consisted in lectures and disputations. The purpose of the lectures was not, as at present, the systematic presentation of a science, nor of course (as might seem to be implied by the German word *Vorlesung* *) the dictation of a text, but the interpretation of a text-book which was in the hands of the students, commenting on and summing up its contents. *Commentatio* and *summa* represented accordingly the two chief types of mediæval scientific literature. The purpose of the disputations was to show how to make actual use of the subject-matter which had been treated of in lectures and perhaps further committed to memory in resump-tions. In the magisterial disputations the whole faculty, comprising both masters and students, worked together. One master proffered theses which the others, one by one, attacked by arguments in logical form (*arguere*) ; the disputant had to repel these attacks by exhibiting their logical fallacies or their incompatibility with generally accepted principles. Regular disputations were also held for the undergraduates to practise these two arts of attacking and defending a thesis. No doubt it was a very suitable way of inducing spontaneous thinking, and of keeping ready for use what had been learned. The disputations thus formed an indispensable supplement to the lectures, which appealed mainly to the receptive faculties.

Courses of
study.

The progressive course of studies through which the students had to go within each faculty was settled in all details, step by step. In order to be admitted to the examinations they had to hear a

* Lat. *praelectio*.

series of prescribed lectures in a prescribed order and to take part in a certain number of disputations. On passing the first examination they attained to the first degree, the dignity of *Baccalarius*. A second examination, for which they had to qualify by hearing and delivering certain further lectures and attending certain exercises, opened the door to the highest dignity, the grade of master or teacher; *Magister* remained the ordinary title in the lower, whilst *Doctor* became usual in the upper faculties. As a rule, examination and promotion took place—especially in the faculty of Arts—at the same sitting, not without a considerable display, in all faculties alike, of ceremony and pomp. It should not be forgotten that all these examinations were of a purely academic and unofficial character. They did not entitle the successful candidate to any appointment, they merely testified to the accomplishment of an academic course of studies and conveyed the recommendation thereby implied. Clerical livings represented almost the only provision that could be found for a scholar; but academic studies and degrees were not looked upon either as an indispensable condition or as a more or less safe guarantee of obtaining them, as is the case at present.

The course of study pursued by the mediæval scholar might, accordingly, be outlined as follows. The boy began by going through the curriculum of a monastery, college or city-school, in which the elementary arts and the Latin language formed the principal subjects of instruction. At the age of about fifteen years he betook himself to a university, and after many trying rites of initiation took the oath and was enrolled as member of the corporation. Not unfrequently boys came to be admitted to a university at a much earlier age; in many cases

elementary instruction was provided for in a *pacdagogium*, i.e., a boarding-school attached to the university. It was the rule for every undergraduate to have a Master of Arts placed over him as his special tutor, under whose supervision he lived in the *collegium*, a building belonging to the university, or in a *bursa*, a private establishment carried on by the master under the supervision of the university. During the next few years he would hear lectures, principally on the logical and physical writings of Aristotle, at the same time attending the disputations of the faculty as well as taking part in the regular dialectical exercises and perfecting his knowledge of the Latin language. At length, on successfully passing the first examination, he became *Baccalarius Artium*. As a Bachelor he had again to attend lectures for a couple of years on the higher branches of learning—psychology, metaphysics, ethics and politics, whilst at the same time studying mathematics and cosmology, and taking his share as assistant-teacher in the instruction and the disputations. At last, on passing a second examination, he would reach the degree of Master of Arts at the age of twenty or twenty-one. He then began to deliver lectures and hold disputations on his own account; indeed, in many cases it was obligatory for him to teach in the faculty for at least two years, in accordance with the maxim *docendo discere*. At the same time he could enter the course of one of the upper faculties as *scolaris* (undergraduate), the course, that is to say, of either law or theology, the medical faculty being, at any rate in Germany, of hardly any account as yet. Here he would again attain, in a few years, to the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in the same order as before. After that he was free to remain at the university, where a chance might present

itself to him of obtaining a salaried post in the body of teachers, or a canonry, or other preferment in the Church, for which—if it were of the higher kind—an academic title gradually came to be looked upon as an appropriate condition. All, of course, did not reach this top of the ladder. The great masses never got further in their studies than the faculty of Arts, and indeed the majority left the university without obtaining any degree, even that of a *Baccalarius Artium*.

One further trait of the mediæval universities deserves to be mentioned here. They shared the forms of life which were peculiar to the Church, and more especially its universal and international character. This was natural enough; for, in Germany at any rate, they had grown up, without exception, on ecclesiastical soil and under the patronage of the Apostolic See. The doctrine of the Church formed the fundamental canon of their teaching; the language of the Church was their language. The members of the universities, teachers and students alike, were mostly incumbents or expectants of clerical livings; the university chairs were, at least in Germany, endowed for the most part as canonries without compulsory residence. The international character which the universities had in common with the Church and its religious orders, fostered alike in teacher and student the habit of migration and the spirit of adventure. More especially the French and Italian universities were frequented by great numbers of German students: they enjoyed the reputation of greater culture and refinement. But this was not the only way in which the adventurous restlessness of the mediæval student manifested itself. A wandering proletariat of students, tramping from town to town, and from

Clerical and international character of the mediæval university.

one country into another, gay and light-hearted, but at the same time beggarly and daring, became at times a real plague.

City-Schools. About the same time that the universities were coming into existence another innovation was taking place in the domain of education—the rise of the city-schools. These were schools administered not by clerical institutions but by the municipal authorities, who engaged and dismissed the schoolmaster, acted as school inspectors, provided the schoolhouse, and often made a contribution towards the salary of the schoolmaster. But in the main the latter had to depend on the fees payable by the pupils at quarterly terms, frequently supplemented or even discharged altogether by payments in kind. Ushers were engaged and paid by the schoolmaster himself. The supply of teachers who offered their services increased in proportion as university education became more general. The wealthier towns usually employed a university graduate as schoolmaster, whilst the ushers (*locati*) were occasionally selected from the ranks of the pupils. The instruction given in these city-schools was, on the whole, not much different from that imparted in the clerical schools, *i.e.*, the elements and the rudiments of Latin. In some of the leading city-schools, however, those at Nuremberg, Ulm, Hagenau, *e.g.*, its scope was wider and included the “great authors” and the rudiments of the subjects taught at the universities in the faculty of Arts. But this depended on the liberality of the town as well as the capability of the schoolmaster. A hard-and-fast line between school and university instruction was quite unknown, and was not indeed drawn till the nineteenth century.

As regards the origin of the city-schools and their relations to the older clerical schools, it would seem

that, in most cases, they had their roots in the old-established parish schools, *i.e.*, the small number of pupils whom every parish priest was bound to keep in connection with his church, to assist in divine service, either giving them elementary instruction himself or finding them another teacher. As a town grew in extent the progressive development of commercial and industrial life created a more general and pressing demand for some scholastic attainments, and consequently an ever-increasing number of burghers were in quest of such instruction for their sons. The greater the prosperity of a school the warmer the interest of the civic community in its welfare. In making provisions for a school by the erection of a schoolhouse or a grant towards the salary of the schoolmaster, the town acquired the privileges of patronage. The extension of municipal administration and authority gave rise to a struggle for emancipation in all directions, until at last, at the end of the mediæval period, the town council was recognised as the highest authority in school matters. In many cases this was not accomplished without long and bitter feuds with the former clerical authority, *i.e.*, the "*Scholasticus*" of some cathedral or collegiate church who had wielded that power of old. He claimed it as his exclusive right to admit pupils and to nominate teachers, and no doubt he frequently looked upon the grant of the *Facultas Docendi*, or the appointment of schoolmasters, as one of the sources of his income. Such struggles, however, were never animated by a spirit of hostility to the Church or to its doctrine; they were directed exclusively against the local educational authority. It is significant that the higher ecclesiastical authorities always sided with the cities—a policy quite in accordance with the benevolent interest which the

Church evinced, throughout the Middle Ages, in the advancement of education and educational institutions in any shape or form. There seems to be little doubt that, towards the end of the fifteenth century, nearly every city had a school of its own, and that even in small market towns and villages schools were by no means rare. Knepper's survey of the Alsatian schools affords an instance; and many a school must have existed besides, whose name has not been handed down to posterity. Some of the larger towns had more schools than one, not counting the chapter and cathedral schools, which were on the decline.

Private
(elementary)
Schools.

It remains to be mentioned that, side by side with the public schools, private schools were growing up in the towns, endeavouring to meet the increasing demand of wider circles for elementary instruction. "German reading and writing schools," which were founded as purely private undertakings, and in which boys and girls received instruction in the elements, but not in Latin, were to be found towards the end of the Middle Ages in all large towns, often in considerable number. Here and there the authorities interested themselves in them, issuing general regulations. These schools were the earliest predecessors of the modern primary school.

After all that has been said it seems safe to assume that, at the end of the Middle Ages, the entire population of the towns, with the exception of the lowest classes, was able to read and to write. No statistics are available, but the most convincing evidence that could be desired is afforded by the rapid development of the art of printing into an important industry. This would have been impossible without a universal demand for books. If we wish to realise how much the spread of the great intellectual and religious movements at the beginning of the

sixteenth century was encouraged by the printing-press, we have only to think of Luther and Hutten and their pamphlets. Speeding on from town to town as if upon the wings of the wind, the new ideas took hold of the masses in a manner only possible amongst a population which was able and eager to read.

The school discipline was in keeping with the character of the times in general and the spirit of Church discipline in particular, strict and even cruel. The great means of correction, at home as well as at school, was the rod, the standing attribute of the mediæval teacher. It was regularly resorted to even for didactic purposes, as is shown by ominous nick-names given to school books such as *Sparadorsum* (back-sparer.) Castigation was in common use in the convents as a necessary and pious exercise, and an occasional dose of it was considered as salutary for youth under all circumstances. According to a general custom, which shows that this painful matter was not treated altogether without humour, the birches had to be cut in the copse by the pupils themselves on a merry school-excursion arranged for the purpose, when frolics of all kinds were indulged in, and even beer was allowed. The school wits christened this festival *virgidemia*, a word formed after the analogy of *vindemia*, i.e., vintage (*virga*, the rod).

A survey of the whole of the educational movements during the second half of the Middle Ages cannot leave room for any doubt that they represented a powerful advance in general culture. Above all, it is clear that scholastic education, and with it presumably intellectual culture, had enormously gained in extent. In the first place, all the Western nations could show a broad social stratum which had

School discipline.

General tendencies of education during the second half of the Middle Ages.

received an academic, or at least a half-academic education. In regard to the universities, it is even possible to make an attempt at statistics; according to Eulenburg,* the number of students at German universities about the year 1500 amounted to three or four thousand, not counting Vienna and Prague, nor the German students at foreign universities, so that altogether there would have been about 6000 students of German nationality. Supposing the average time spent at the university to have been two years, we can judge of what a large number of men with a certain amount of university education the German people could boast even then. Twenty years would have produced about 60,000, an astonishing figure at a time when the class of government officials from whom a previous academic training is required had not yet come into existence. We must add to these the large number of those who had acquired a semi-academic education at the city or chapter schools. It is impossible to state this number exactly; but, considering the large number of schools—some of the more important towns had four, six or eight of them—it must have been very respectable indeed. To give at least a few figures: in Nuremberg there were, in 1485, four schools with four schoolmasters, twelve ushers, 245 sons of citizens as paying pupils, and a considerable number of external poor scholars; the latter were restricted in 1532 to a maximum of 110. In Augsburg, on the occasion of a procession in 1503, the whole clergy of the town were counted together with the pupils of its five schools—in all 523. Lastly, there were the masses of those who had been taught the elements either at one of the previously

* Fr. Eulenburg, *Die Frequenz der deutschen Universitäten von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart*. Leipzig, 1904.

mentioned "German" schools or by private tuition, since the calling of the family pedagogue formed a flourishing industry among the multitude of sciolists in search of a living.

In the general tendency of the whole movement the following currents may be distinguished. Firstly, in regard to their constitutional organisation, educational institutions were emancipating themselves more and more from the Church. Compared with the old cathedral and chapter schools the universities were — relatively speaking — autonomous communities. Learning and scholars attained here to a certain independence and a recognised status of life. Not that they had shaken off all the ties that bound them to the Church and its doctrine; such a result would have been unthinkable in the Middle Ages. But they had, on the one hand, an inner life of their own, while, on the other, the Church itself felt their influence very strongly. It was not a small matter either that, in an often-quoted old saying, the University of Paris could be spoken of as God's gift to the French, even as the Papacy was His gift to the Italians, and the Empire His gift to Germany. Moreover, in equipping and endowing universities, the secular authorities, particularly in Germany, began to gain some control over the organisation of culture and learning. The rise of the city-schools points in the same direction; the towns were beginning to displace the Church in provision for the education of youth—a development which was continued, later on, by the Reformation.

A similar tendency made itself felt in the inner development of the intellectual life; secular interests were unmistakably gaining ground in the pursuit of knowledge. This was most evident in the sciences of medicine and of Roman Law, which introduced

subjects, hitherto alien to the Church, into the domain of scholarly research. But the same held true concerning the study of philosophy and theology. In resuming the study of Aristotelian philosophy the universities accepted—no matter with what adaptations and reservations—a science of pagan descent in a measure which would have seemed quite impossible during the first half of the Middle Ages. Indeed, the estimation in which Aristotle was held often approached that of the Holy Scriptures so ominously that his authority—which was, after all, the authority of reason, as opposed to revelation—hardly seemed much inferior. The fiercest accusation which Luther levelled against the Papal system was this, that it had allowed the old heathen to establish his rule in the Christian schools—a rule which, as Luther averred, extended its influence far into the domain of theology itself. And no doubt that was true enough; scholastic theology was, and meant to be, rational theology. It accepted revelation and the faith of the Church; but it aimed at presenting the same content in a higher form. It anticipated the attempt, made later on by Hegel's philosophy, to transform and dissolve faith into knowledge and dialectic speculation—a process which had already been summed up in the phrase of Anselm: "*fides quaerens intellectum*." It was, of course, impossible to accomplish this without modifying the essence of faith itself. On the other hand a rigid adherence to tradition, a longing for some recognised authority to fall back on, formed a strange contrast with such rationalistic elements, and it was the inner conflict between these two tendencies that led, towards the end of the Middle Ages, to the collapse of the scholastic systems.

Another characteristic feature of mediæval ration-

alism, as above defined, was the general aversion to literary studies, properly so called. John of Salisbury's saying, "*Littera sordescit, logica sola placet*," might indeed serve as a motto for the pursuit of knowledge at the mediæval universities in all its branches. The poetical and rhetorical literature of the ancients was neglected, the philosophical and scientific alone being considered of account. The one-sided dominance of the sciences based on formal logic entailed, as is generally the case, a certain indifference to literary form and style, and even contempt of purely literary accomplishments. A similar observation may be made in our own days in regard to the technical phraseology of Kant's or Hegel's philosophy; the subject-matter, the ideas alone are worth troubling about, the form is a mere nothing. When the literature of the Renaissance sprang up as a reaction against the cult of the syllogistic reasoning, which had dominated the human spirit for three centuries, the invectives of the "poets and orators" were directed in the first place against the barbarous misuse of language and the disgraceful neglect of style. The whole of the scholastic philosophy and science was now cast aside with supreme contempt as sheer nonsense. Could such language, it was asked, could such word-monsters as *haecceitas*, *quidditas*, *entitas*, etc., have any reasonable meaning? During the next three hundred years the schools resounded with the loud recriminations against the barbarity of the Middle Ages. Literary form and classical style alone, it was urged, made the educated man!

BOOK II

THE ERA OF THE RENAISSANCE
AND THE REFORMATION
(1500-1650)

RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

CHAPTER I

THE GENERAL TENDENCIES OF THE NEW AGE

THE historian of education and educational institutions meets, almost at every step, with what might seem, at first sight, a strange phenomenon. I mean the ungrateful and even contemptuous aversion with which every new age shakes off all the ties that bind it to the age which came before it, and to which it owes its own education. But never did passionate revolt against educational tradition form a more characteristic feature of the times than during the transition from the mediæval to the modern period. In its eager pursuit of a new ideal of education the younger generation, about the end of the fifteenth century, discarded all it had received from its predecessors with unqualified contempt. Great and successful as had been the endeavours of the previous age, if not in advancing the state of science at any rate in diffusing what knowledge had been handed down, and in stimulating the intellectual faculties, we never hear a single word of praise on the part of the new generation. Nothing but unceasing blame, descending not unfrequently to the level of violent and frantic abuse, is dealt out to the old school and university education and its representatives. The barbarisation of the world by scholastic philosophy, by men like Thomas and Scotus, is the ever-recurring theme of the eloquence of the Humanists. On the other hand, enthusiastic panegyrics were sounded

The Re-
naissance.

of the new culture, based on classical antiquity and its literature, extolling it as a kind of new birth, by which alone there might arise out of the natural man the true or spiritual man.

The principal tendencies of the great and all-embracing movement which we are wont to call the Renaissance may be described as follows. Its main-spring was a passionate yearning of the individual for absolute independence; this is, indeed, the character inborn in modern man. This yearning found its expression first of all in the craving for emancipation from the trammels of tradition and outward authority. Individual man reserved the ultimate decision in all things to himself and his own reason. He refused to bow to recognised standards; he was determined not to yield to any reasons but those which he himself admitted as valid. He took a delight in overthrowing orthodox views by arguments founded on reason. Criticism was astir and set to work, sifting all that had been handed down; even the most time-honoured errors were never safe from it a single moment. Such was the spirit of men like Laurentius Valla and Desiderius Erasmus. Before long, criticism would begin by rejecting *a priori* all that had hitherto been generally accepted. This was the attitude of Descartes, whose philosophy set out from an expression of universal doubt by way of clearing the ground for the erection of a structure founded on pure reason.

The contrast between this and the preceding period is obvious. Throughout the Middle Ages the dominant tendency had been an inclination to lean upon authority, an attitude of inner subordination to recognised standards, to the Church and its doctrine. Even the rationalism which raised its head during the latter part of the mediæval period retained, on the whole, its reverential awe of tradition

and of accepted truth. Scholastic theology, it is true, aimed at comprehending faith; but it took its truth for granted and allowed its validity even when convinced that it could not be proved on rational grounds. Occasional moods of independence are no proof to the contrary; the general attitude of humility remained the same, and the obedience of the intellect was sincere. Outward submission to the power of the Church continued to be offered often enough during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as it is still offered to-day. But since the great emancipation of the individual consciousness from the objective order of things, the subjection to established authority has always been wanting in true inwardness; recantations are made with tongue and pen, but not with the mind and the heart.

Another principal tendency of the same movement may be seen in the passionate yearning for a new content of the inner life, a content of man's own free choice. This new content was found in the world of classical antiquity, in the re-discovery of which Italy led the way; in other words, it was found in the world of pre-Christian heathendom. Classical antiquity, its literature, its poetry, its philosophy, its eloquence and historiography, its art, its architecture, the forms of its outer and inner life, were contemplated, assimilated, studied and imitated with unspeakable delight and enthusiasm. For a very little the gods of Olympus would have been reinstated and worshipped as the only true and venerable deities! Here, and here alone, men expected to find what they craved for: Nature, truth, beauty, liberty, fulness of life. Classical antiquity was looked upon as the true revelation of manhood, the idea of humanity made flesh. On the other hand the culture of the preceding period, with

its art, its science, its philosophy and its theology, was decried as shockingly grotesque, untrue, unnatural, inhuman—in a word, as “Gothic barbarity.” The invasion of the “Goths,” the barbarians, had destroyed, or at least buried, that world of ideal humanity; and the task of the new age, whose dawn was gilding the horizon, could be no other than this: to restore that buried world to the light of day after the long and dark night of the Middle Ages. What was really aimed at was not the scientific research of the philologist or the historian, but the actual breathing of a new life into classical antiquity. Throughout the domain of art and literature that tremendous activity was now beginning which aimed at resuming and continuing the work of the ancients where they had left off. Buildings were designed, pictures painted, poems written and philosophies conceived under the inspiration of Greek and Roman models. Countless works of art were produced side by side with the antique treasures which the earth yielded up to the industry of the excavators. In the same way a huge literature—the Neo-Latin—was called into being, in which every kind of composition known to the ancients was reproduced: philosophical dialogues and rhetorical historiography, scientific inquiries and treatises, but, above all, oratorical and poetical works, the latter in all the various forms and metres of the Classics. However feeble and cold imitations most of these products seem to us, in those days they were received as original creations of genius, and no one saw the slightest affectation in the names of Roman and Greek poets and philosophers with which contemporary writers adorned themselves.

This predilection for pre-Christian antiquity reveals at the same time another tendency which has

remained a feature of the whole modern period—a shifting of the general interest from the life to come to this present world. The religion of primitive Christianity was decidedly an otherworldly religion; the keynote, not only of its speculation but of its practice, was the most uncompromising supranaturalism. This view of the world and of human life had helped to mould mediæval man and his surroundings. His science was more concerned with the other world than with this earthly existence; and the saint who fled from this world to a cloistered seclusion was held without contradiction to have realised the most perfect life that could be conceived. Mediæval life, it is true, was by no means all renunciation and unworldliness; it had room for war and conquests, hunting and tournaments, love and the pleasures of sense, the epic of heroes and the song of the troubadour; and, indeed, youthful gladness and earthly joy were perhaps more akin to its inmost feelings than a saintly life of penitence. But these feelings, chilled as they were by the anxiety for the salvation of the soul, only found expression in a furtive and shamefaced way. The Renaissance marked the decisive victory of these worldly tendencies, while the life to come, with its prospects of heaven and hell, receded into the background of consciousness.

“ A fool, who there his blinking eyes directeth! . . .

This world means something to the capable;

Why needs he through eternity to wend? ”

Goethe's *Faust*, Second Part, Act V. (Bayard Taylor).

These lines might serve as a motto for the new age. In accordance with this spirit we see theological speculations giving way to natural and historical science, monastic asceticism to hearty good cheer, timid self-renunciation to robust self-assertion. The discovery

of America inaugurated the conquest of the earth and the subjugation of all other races by the nations of Europe, while Copernicus prepared the way for the intellectual conquest of the universe and the elimination of the supernatural world from space, if not from reality. On the doctrine of the infinity of the world Giordano Bruno based his equation between God and Nature. At the same time took place the emancipation of secular from ecclesiastical authority. The modern state, as analysed theoretically in Macchiavel's book on "The Prince," and as represented in the great world of reality by the Spanish and French monarchies, was exclusively founded on force.

This shifting of the general interest from the future to the present world was not unconnected with a similar shifting of the general interest from the world of abstract ideas to that of concrete reality, from dialectic and conceptual philosophy to the study of the concrete phenomena of nature and history. During the latter centuries of the Middle Ages the universities and schools devoted themselves entirely to abstract reasoning, sometimes hardly even disguising their contempt for the world of real facts, which was not unfrequently spoken of as if it were mere material for the logician to exercise his wits upon. The Renaissance represented the reaction which naturally followed on such one-sidedness. With the sentiments to which Mephistopheles gives expression in a well-known passage, men exchanged the barren heath of logical and metaphysical speculation for the green pastures of real fact. For centuries the old dialectical problems had been discussed again and again with ardent zeal, and still no headway had been made, when the younger generation suddenly felt itself impelled, by infinite loathing and infinite

longing, to flee from the schools of grammarians and logicians, from the endless disputes of physicists and metaphysicians, and to enjoy the contemplation of the real world, above all, the great and beautiful world of classical antiquity. In the *Epistolae Virorum Obscurorum* the dialectical tricks of the old professors of theology and philosophy were held up, with exuberant derision, for the contempt of youth, and up to this day there are not a few who derive their ideas of scholastic philosophy exclusively from that source. And indeed it must be admitted that the days of scholastic philosophy were over; the confident hope with which it had begun its work, four centuries before, that it would succeed in transforming faith into knowledge, had been disappointed. Nothing was left for it to do therefore but to apply its method to all kinds of problems, some of them essential problems, others in the highest degree unreal, of either grammar or logic, physics or metaphysics, relating to this life or the life to come; the mill went on clacking, but meal had ceased to be forthcoming. During the next three hundred years, scholastic philosophy laboured under the burden of the absolute contempt of the whole learned world, until it came to experience a kind of resurrection, in our own times, with the revival of Roman Catholicism in the nineteenth century.

Two remarks may be offered in conclusion. Firstly, it is to be noted that this whole movement did not come upon the nations of the West from outside, in the way in which, *e.g.*, Christianity came to the Saxons. It welled up from their inmost souls; it was the first great and entirely spontaneous impulse of the modern spirit. In this movement the young nations became conscious of the powerful civilising forces which they represented and of their

kinship with the youthful world of pre-Christian antiquity; and, in that consciousness, they cast off the guise of supernatural religion in which those forces had hitherto appeared. Secondly, it deserves mention that it was the upper classes who were the first to own allegiance to the new movement. The courts of the secular and spiritual lords were the meeting-places of the fashionable artists and poets, orators and philosophers. The new ideal of education was distinctly aristocratic and æsthetic, with a pronounced tendency to hold aloof from the masses. This want of respect for the common people not unfrequently engendered an equal want of respect for the common morality. We could almost infer this *a priori*, even if we did not know it from hundreds of sources, for upper-class morality has always and everywhere been prone to choose its standpoint beyond the limits of right and wrong, and of the morality of poets and artists this may perhaps be said with even greater truth. The distinction between what is aristocratic and common, beautiful and ugly, refined and vulgar, tends to push the old sharp distinction between good and evil into the background of consciousness.

The Re-
formation.

The Reformation, that other great movement, which started from Wittenberg in 1517, seemed at first to swell the wave of Humanism just then passing over Germany. But in reality it sprang from very different sources, and its divergent tendency soon became obvious during its progress. The Renaissance was an æsthetic movement of aristocratic leanings, imported from Italy, whereas the Lutheran Reformation was an ethical and religious movement of a national and popular character.

Some of the broadest tendencies, it is true, Luther shared with the Renaissance. He too aimed at a

liberation of individual man, at his emancipation from tradition and authority. He aimed at ridding men of the intervention of Church and priesthood between themselves and God, teaching them to rely on their personal faith and their individual consciences. He did indeed, in attacking human authority, advocate a higher authority, the Word of God; but at the same time he was so confident of his own cause that, wherever the letter of the Scripture was against him, he bravely and cheerfully appealed from the letter to the spirit, *i.e.*, his own spirit, which he knew to be at one with the spirit of God. Nor was the revival of interest in this earthly life altogether foreign to the Reformation; it manifested itself chiefly in the repudiation of saintly idleness, as practised in the convents, and in the exaltation of man's worldly calling and of married life. Besides, Luther shared the hatred which the leaders of Humanism entertained against scholastic philosophy and theology. His outbursts of hatred and contempt against traditional university education in his "Epistle to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" (1520) are not less fierce than the invectives in the "Letters of Obscure Men."

Nevertheless, the whole movement was pervaded by an altogether different spirit. As has been said before, Luther was angry with the scholastic writers and the universities at bottom not because they made too few, but because they made too many concessions to reason in matters philosophical and theological, because they mixed up the doctrine of Aristotle, the "cursed, conceited, wily heathen," with the Christian doctrine of the Scripture, because they talked of virtue and merit instead of sin and grace. To all this Luther opposed his own postulates, Scripture alone and Faith alone—postulates

which were not born of theoretic speculation but of religious experiences of the most personal character. He had failed to obtain the grace of God by means of the old-established Church doctrine and Church practice; therefore, he concluded, these could not be on the right way. There was in Luther no trace of that theoretic craving for a reconciliation between faith and reason which had called scholastic theology into being; according to him, faith rested in itself and could only be confounded by reason. Nor did he cherish any strong desire for learning and education; these things were far removed from his main interest, and those who pursued them as the most vital aims of life, like Erasmus of Rotterdam, he looked upon without sympathy, if not with suspicion. Moreover, the renewed interest in earthly concerns had not the same significance for him as for the followers of Hutten or even Zwingli. Luther did not believe that monastic life was the way to quell carnal lust and desire; hard work and the cares of family life seemed to him much more appropriate means to that end. His esteem for education, culture and worldly pleasures was very moderate indeed; his Christianity was altogether a religion of redemption; sin and grace were to him the cardinal points exactly as they were to the early Christians. The Middle Ages and the Roman Church had secularised Christianity, had all but transformed the supernatural religion of redemption into a semi-rationalistic religion of culture, and—strange as it may sound to many ears—it was this which, in the last resort, had led to Luther's apostasy from the Papal creed. It was not a mere accident that it was Pope Leo X.—the same who surrounded himself in the Vatican with the heathen gods, or at least their images—on whom Luther declared war to the knife,

denouncing him as the Antichrist. And thus it becomes a matter of course that the alliance between the Reformation and the Renaissance, as established during the first years, soon went to pieces. The leaders of Humanism—Reuchlin, Erasmus, Mutian—turned away from Lutheranism; the old Church seemed, after all, to offer a more congenial soil for æsthetic culture and rationalistic learning than the uncompromising morality and the unconditional faith of the Reformation. This did not, of course, prevent the Reformation, regarded as a driving force of historical development, from attaining to more positive relations to culture and education. Great historical movements follow their own course, unheeding of the intentions of those who inaugurated them.

This may suffice as a characterisation of the two great historical Revolutions in man's inner life, the outbreak of which marks the beginning of the modern era, and which, whether as allied or as conflicting forces, have shaped the course of the following centuries. Nowhere has the power of these competing influences been more felt than in the sphere of education, whose aims and methods they have entirely remodelled.

CHAPTER II

THE PROGRESS OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE LEADERS OF THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION

“Poets
and
orators.”

As early as in the second half of the fifteenth century the influences of the Renaissance began to make themselves felt in the German universities and schools. At the universities the first “poets and orators” made their appearance here and there. Amongst the earliest were the disreputable figure of Peter Luder, and, a little later, Conrad Celtes (1459-1508), a personality of somewhat greater power and importance, although he too was not averse to the dissolute, roving existence led by the poets of this period, in whom the wandering scholars of earlier days seemed to have come to life once more. Celtes was the first poet-laureate on German soil; he was crowned in 1487 at Nuremberg by the Emperor Frederic III. After manifold pilgrimages he became instructor of poetry and eloquence, first at the Bavarian University of Ingolstadt, afterwards (since 1497) at Vienna, where the Emperor Maximilian appointed him president of the College of Poets, which he had newly instituted as a fifth faculty, as it were, side by side with the old faculty of Arts, endowing it with the privilege of crowning poets. So seriously was the new poetry taken in those days! A great number of further names of wandering versifiers might be added here: Aesticampianus and Buschius were the most important of them, and Ulrich von Hutten was also one of them in his earlier

days. Roaming from court to court and from university to university, they posed, with boundless self-conceit, as apostles of a new education and as missionaries of humanity amongst barbarians. Considering themselves high above the precepts of common morality, they turned their gallant adventures to account in elegant Latin verses. They flattered their patrons with the prospect of immortal fame which they undertook to bestow on them by their pens; they threatened to deliver up their enemies to unending derision. That the threat, at any rate, was not a mere pretence is shown by the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (1516), in which Crotus Rubeanus and Hutten poured upon the old university professors, especially of the theological and artistic faculties, a volley of unrelenting sarcasm, the echoes of which may be heard to this day in our satiric press.

A deeper and more lasting influence than that Erasmus. exercised by the feverish activity of these men emanated from the quiet work of the real representatives of the new science of classical antiquity. Pre-eminent above all the rest stood Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536). A Dutchman by birth, he afterwards made himself almost equally at home in England, France, Italy and in Germany, where he spent the greater part of the last decades of his life (at Basel and Freiburg). The extent of his literary and scientific production was enormous. In the first place, he provided not only the learned world but also the leaders of the great historical movements of his times with the most valuable materials in the shape of critical editions of profane as well as sacred texts of Latin and Greek writers; in 1516 he edited the Greek New Testament. At the same time he was laying the foundation of the educational system

of Humanism in numerous methodological and pedagogic treatises. And finally, by his controversial writings, and still more by his letters, he took an active part in the great events of his days. About the time when the new religious movement started from Wittenberg, Erasmus occupied a unique position in Europe. As the most celebrated representative of the new cosmopolitan education he was sought after by all the potentates of Christendom, secular as well as spiritual, just as Voltaire was two centuries afterwards. But whilst Voltaire remained Fortune's favourite up to the last, it was the fate of Erasmus to experience a bitter reverse. The leaders of the Reformation, with whom it was impossible for him to maintain clear and straightforward relations, abandoned him in despair as belonging to a bygone age, and he died a lonely and embittered man.

Reuchlin.

Besides Erasmus must be mentioned J. Reuchlin, who revived the study of Hebrew together with that of Greek, and whose feud with the Dominicans of Cologne led to the great literary war, in which the "Letters of Obscure Men" represented the last and decisive blow against the old system; and, of a younger generation, Moselanus and Melanchthon.

Ascend-
ency of
Human
ism.

About 1520 the long and bitter struggle between the old scholastic and the new humanistic education seemed decided in favour of the new spirit. Humanism had won a place for itself at the side of the old philosophy. Towards the end of the second decade of the sixteenth century measures of reform were introduced at almost all universities, resulting in a new scheme of studies and lectures, which plainly shows the more or less complete victory of Humanism. Three points were most characteristic in that respect. Firstly, the reception of the "orators and poets" into the academic body. Secondly, the expulsion of

mediaeval Latin and its replacement by classical Latin, even within the domain of scholastic instruction, the old translations of Aristotle being supplanted by new ones, and poetry and rhetoric, based on the classical writers (which were read and imitated), included in the prescribed course of lectures and in the range of subjects required for the examinations. Thirdly, the foundation of professorships of the Greek language.

Before long the influences of the new learning began to reach in some degree even the schools. As early as in the fifteenth century A. Hegius of Deventer and L. Dringenberg of Schlettstadt made some headway against the vagaries of scholastic grammarians and introduced the use of classical authors at school. During the first two decades of the sixteenth century we meet everywhere with endeavours to reform the method of instruction in Latin. The old grammar, *i.e.*, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa dei, which had played the dominant part in that instruction for nearly three centuries, was done away with. Short and simple manuals of classical Latin were introduced, and the pupils were provided with the works of classical authors as reading matter and taught to imitate their style in poetry as well as prose. In the reform of which these were the essential features the great cities of Southern Germany and the Rhenish Netherlands led the way.

The progressive reorganisation of educational institutions seemed thus to have reached the phase of a "pacific penetration" of the old schools and universities by Humanism, when suddenly a storm-cloud appeared in the serene blue sky, in the shape of the great religious revolution, which, in a moment, carried the interest of the German people away from æsthetic and literary concerns and centred it on the

The Re-
formation.

great problems of religion and ecclesiastical policy. The zeal for humanistic studies was supplanted by the passionate strife surging round the doctrine and before long round the very existence of the Church. Erasmus, who loved quiet and preached peace and culture, had to make room for Luther, the great fighter. The first effect of these events on the educational institutions was destructive; the old schools and universities were so bound up with the Church in all respects—socially, legally and economically—that they could not but be involved in its downfall. The mere cessation of the prospects of clerical livings was bound to exercise a deterrent influence in regard to school and university studies. Then followed the peasants' war, with its unmerciful devastation on both sides; and thus it came about that the ten years between 1525 and 1535 resulted in a depression of learning and education which is without a parallel in history. The figures of attendance at the universities were reduced to one quarter of their former amount, and the same was probably the case with the schools, so that Erasmus could exclaim: "Wherever Luther prevails, the cause of literature and learning is lost!"

Melanch-
thon.

But things took another turn. The man had already stepped forth into the arena of public life, to whom the thanks of the German nation are due for the rescue of its whole educational organisation from this catastrophe. This man was Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560). He was the son of a sword-cutler of Bretten in the palatinate, and, as a great-nephew of Reuchlin, he was predisposed, as it were, for humanistic and Greek studies. At an early age he became one of the leaders of the new movement at the university of Tübingen, which he left in 1518, in order to accept a professorship of

Greek at the young university of Wittenberg. Here, with the assistance of Spalatin at the electoral court of Saxony, and in conjunction with Luther, who had been at Wittenberg since 1508, he accomplished the humanistic reform of the university. For a time, carried away by Luther's overpowering personality, he allowed himself, against his own better judgment, to be infected with the great reformer's passionate hatred, not only against the old scholastic philosophy but also against Aristotle himself. But he soon found himself again. When the fatal effects of this spirit on learning and educational progress began to show themselves, when crazy enthusiasts of all kinds began to preach the uselessness of the sciences on the ground that the spirit would lead men without study into all truth, Melanchthon set his face against this pernicious error with the whole tough energy of his nature. Without the study of languages and of philosophy, he maintained, the new doctrine could not possibly live and thrive. Henceforth he was indefatigable in preaching the alliance of the gospel with science. This alliance was the ever-recurring theme of many of his writings, and above all, of his academic speeches; it was the goal of his never-tiring and only too often thankless efforts as university teacher; and it was the object of his persevering labour in organising the new educational system of Protestantism. Never was name of honour better deserved than that which the grateful pupils of Master Philippus bestowed on him at the end of his life, so overfull of toil and trouble: *Praeceptor noster communis, praeceptor Germaniae*.

Luther himself could not really entertain any Luther. doubt either that the services of learning were indispensable to the new doctrine or—to use an expression more corresponding to his own feelings—

to the restoration of the old and true doctrine from the genuine and original sources. Religion alone, it is true, he considered to be of vital import, looking on everything else, polite learning and intellectual education, as matters of minor concern. Nevertheless, the dependence of his life's work on learning, especially on linguistic learning, was so obvious that he could not for a moment lose sight of it. Accordingly, he had already earnestly insisted, in his "Epistle to the Christian Nobility," on the reform of grammar schools and universities on humanistic and Protestant lines, declaring the study of Scripture and of languages to be the groundwork of all knowledge. And now, when the cause of education seemed threatened with a lamentable decline, and the "Schwarmgeister" and other enthusiasts of all sorts were preaching reliance on the "spirit" alone, Luther took up his pen and issued his weighty "Epistle to the Burgomasters and Councillors of Sundry Cities in German Lands" (1524). Of its two main arguments the first was that study, and above all the study of language was quite indispensable for the comprehension of the Holy Scripture, and therefore for the preservation of the Gospel, *i.e.*, of the new doctrine. "For inasmuch as it was the will of God that His Gospel should come unto all the world through the Apostles, He gave unto them the gift of tongues. Moreover, in former times, by the rule of the Romans, He spread the use of Latin and Greek so widely in every land, to the end that His Gospel might speedily bring forth fruit wide and far. And, in like manner, hath He done now. Hitherto men knew not, wherefore God had created different languages; but now we are made to see that it was for the sake of the Holy Gospel, which it was His will to reveal, thereby to bring to light the

rule of the Antichrist and to destroy. Therefore, so dear as the Gospel is unto us, even with such diligence let us apply ourselves to languages." Secondly, it was declared to be the duty of cities, and of secular authorities in general, to provide good schools and to encourage attendance. "For since into their trusty hands have been commended the goods, honour and bodily safety of the whole town, they would not deal honestly before God and the world if they sought not the welfare and prosperity of the city, night and day, with all their might. Now, the welfare of a city doth not consist alone in laying up great treasure nor in making strong walls, goodly houses and manifold vessels and chattels. Yea, where these are many, and foolish and wicked men come up against them, so much greater and more grievous is the fall of that city. But this is the richest and fullest welfare, salvation and strength of a city that it hath a great store of citizens learned, wise, honourable and of godly nurture." And in his later "Discourse on the Duty of Keeping Children at School (1530)" he enjoined the authorities, even, if necessary, at the public expense and with the aid of compulsory measures, to draw clever boys to the pursuit of learning, in order to provide competent men to fill the public offices.

Such was the spirit in which the new Protestant educational organisation was conceived—a spirit which Melanchthon represented in all its aspects—the alliance of the Protestant doctrine with humanistic culture under the protection of the secular authority.

New universities and schools founded under Melanchthon's leadership.

No time was lost in founding further educational establishments. With the most active assistance of Melanchthon himself, new grammar schools were opened at Magdeburg, Eisleben and Nuremberg

during the years 1521-1526. In 1528 the first general school regulations were published for the Electorate of Saxony. They formed part of the "Instructions for the Visitors in the Electorate of Saxony," which may be looked upon as the outcome of the reformer's joint investigation into the prevailing state of things and their deliberations as to what improvements could and should be made. They were soon followed by a long series of further School Regulations, first of all in the territories and cities of North Germany, J. Bugenhagen being the author of some of them, as in the case of Brunswick (1528), Hamburg (1529), and Schleswig-Holstein (1542). The last School Regulations which were revised by Melanchthon himself were probably those issued for Mecklenburg in 1552, and afterwards incorporated in the Palatine Regulations of 1556. At the same time new universities were founded and existing ones reorganised. The first new university, founded on Protestant lines, was that of Marburg (1527), which was followed, during Melanchthon's lifetime, by those of Königsberg (1544) and Jena (1558), and, soon after his death, by that of Helmstedt (1576). Reforms which, in some cases, almost amounted to new foundations were introduced, for the greater part during the fourth decade of the century, at Wittenberg, Tübingen, Leipsic, Frankfort, Greifswald, Rostock, Heidelberg, everywhere in the spirit of Melanchthon, and frequently with his personal assistance or advice, his most intimate friend, Joachim Camerarius, being the chief of those who shared in the work. For twoscore years Melanchthon devoted his marvellous and never-tiring energy to the educational organisation of the young Church, often enough battling against trying and adverse circumstances, and hard beset from within and without. The new

edifice which, at his death, rested on secure foundations, and more especially the new system of higher education, was, in the main, the work of his hands. In order to facilitate an appreciation of his full merit it may be summed up under three heads: (1) He laid down the principles for the organisation of the Protestant universities and schools, taking part, in many cases, in the settlement of their constitution, either by his personal assistance or by epistolary advice; (2) He wrote excellent text-books, which remained in use for centuries, for the teaching of Latin and Greek grammar, rhetoric and logic, physics (psychology) and ethics, and theological dogmatics; (3) During the forty-two years of his academical activity, which comprised nearly all the branches of the philosophical faculty, he created a new teaching profession to meet the needs of higher education in Germany. At his death thousands of his pupils were at work at all the universities and schools throughout the wide domain of German civilisation. From about 1530 Wittenberg was the central university of Protestantism, and Master Philippus the soul of all learned studies. His lectures embraced almost all subjects, for he lectured not only on Greek and Latin authors, sacred as well as profane, but also on the philosophical sciences, and even astronomy and history were not beyond his ken. He was, indeed, a *Praeceptor Germaniae* in a unique sense!

CHAPTER III

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

A SHORT survey will help us to form an idea of the external and internal constitution of the Protestant educational institutions, as moulded by Melancthon's hand, during the second half of the sixteenth century.

I. THE UNIVERSITIES

Influences
of the Re-
formation.

The trend of the general development was, of course, determined by the great schism in the Church. The universities lost their former universal and international character, and the principle of territorialism was generally accepted. There was no territory of any considerable size, and indeed no large town, but endeavoured to form a separate religious and ecclesiastical unity, and to control the education of its officials in Church and State at a university of its own. Hence the great number of new universities, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, which were founded during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to which must be added numerous "*academical Gymnasien*." In other respects their external constitution underwent no essential changes. The four faculties, the rector and deans, the lectures and disputations, examinations and degrees, weathered all the storms of the times. Their relations to each other also remained the same; the faculty of Arts, or—as it was now called—of

The four
faculties.

Philosophy, continued to provide a preparatory training of a general character, leading up to the special studies in the three "higher" faculties. It is noteworthy that the numbers of students in the higher faculties, especially those of Theology and Law, were increasing. The completion of a course of studies in the theological faculty, which had hitherto in nowise been required or expected, came, little by little, to be generally acknowledged as a necessary requirement for the Protestant ministry. This was in accordance with the character of the new office and with the importance now attached to the exposition of doctrine. Whilst the Roman Catholic priest is primarily an administrator of cult and sacraments, the Protestant clergyman is before all else a preacher and teacher of the Divine Word. The faculty of Law was also growing, the reception of Roman Law as valid "Imperial" Law and the development of modern State life and State officialdom having led to an increase in the number of appointments for which legal studies were required. The faculty of Medicine, on the other hand, continued, for some time, to be of little consequence, and, indeed, was often practically non-existent.

Of much greater importance was the faculty of Philosophy. It retained, as we have seen, its former position between the grammar school and the higher faculties. Compared with the institutions of our own times it would correspond to the upper forms of the modern *Gymnasium*, quite in accordance with the age of its undergraduates, which averaged between fifteen and twenty years. Its curriculum formed a continuation of that of the grammar school, where the students had already acquired the rudiments of the language then spoken by the world of learning, and afforded at the same time a preparation

The faculty
of Phil-
osophy.

for the special studies in the faculties of Theology and Law, providing as it did the necessary groundwork of general knowledge. But this latter term now embraced a wider range of subjects. Whereas, in the old faculty of Arts, it was based almost exclusively on the study of Aristotle, these philosophical studies were now supplemented by the humanistic study of classical antiquity, which also paved the way for history. The study of mathematics and natural philosophy gradually gained in importance, although it was not until the eighteenth century that these subjects made a more decided advance towards independence. At the same time academic teaching gradually assumed a more scientific character.

Methods
and sub-
jects of
teaching.

This progress of university teaching found a visible expression in the organisation of university chairs. Whereas, in the old faculty of Arts, every master lectured indiscriminately on all subjects alike, *i.e.*, on all text-books coming within the compass of his faculty—and, indeed, in many cases, the custom prevailed of assigning the text-books to the masters by lot or by rotation!—special chairs were now founded and endowed for the several subjects. Whoever held a chair was now in duty bound, in recognition of his salary, to deliver at all times “public,” *i.e.*, gratuitous lectures on his special subject. He was at liberty, however, at the same time to offer private instruction in other subjects, for which fees might be charged. This was the beginning of the specialisation of academical teaching within the philosophical faculty, although, for a long time afterwards, until well into the eighteenth century, it remained usual for university teachers to be transferred from one chair to another that was better endowed, or even from one faculty to another, especially from the faculty of Philosophy to that of Theology. As a

typical example of the usual equipment of the philosophical faculty with professorial chairs, the scheme of the reforms introduced at Wittenberg in 1536 may be cited. There were ten regular lectureships:—in Hebrew, Greek, Poetry, Grammar (based on the reading of Terence), Mathematics (two lectureships, one for elementary and one for higher mathematics), Dialectics, Rhetoric, Physics, and Moral Philosophy. Humanistic philology and scholastic philosophy thus joined hands in carrying on the work of education. The older stratum was composed of dialectics, physics and etics (presented according to the Aristotelian philosophy, perhaps in Melanchthon's adaptation), together with mathematics. The younger elements, added by the Renaissance, were Latin grammar, rhetoric and poetry, together with Greek and Hebrew. At the other universities the lectures were distributed in a similar way between *Linguae* and *Artes*, with the modification that, where only smaller means were available, two lectureships were sometimes held by one and the same master, while, a little later on, in most cases, a professorship of History (*professio historiarum*) was added, which was, however, as a rule, combined with some other lectureship, usually in Rhetoric or Ethics.

But, on the whole, the method of instruction was not yet very different from that adopted in the schools. The various lessons were distributed over the hours of the day according to a settled time-table, and the students had to attend the lectures in a firmly established order. The following course was, for example, prescribed by the Leipsic statutes of 1558, of which Camerarius was the author. First term (half-yearly): Greek and Latin Grammar, Dialectics and Poetry; second term: continuation

of Latin Grammar and Dialectics, in addition to Rhetoric; third term: continuation of Poetry and Rhetoric, in addition to the elements of Physics and Mathematics. Then followed the examination in these subjects for the degree of Bachelor, and after that another two years' course of studies preparatory to the examination for the degree of Master. Throughout these two years the students had to attend the lectures of the professor of classical languages (*i.e.*, Camerarius) on the older writers and the lectures of the *Philosophus Græccus* on Aristotle's Organon, to which were further added lectures on Aristotle's Physics and Ethics during the first, and on Mathematics during the second year. Here again, it will be seen, the lectures were distributed amongst *Linguæ* and *Artes* during the whole course of studies. They were supplemented by practical exercises. Disputations served to consolidate the knowledge acquired by the instruction in the sciences, while the linguistic instruction was turned to account in exercises, written as well as oral, in the composition of prose and verse after the model of the Classics. The "declamations," specimens of academic eloquence, in the shape of public addresses, to be delivered by the teachers as models for similar exercises on the part of the students, were first introduced at Wittenberg by Melancthon; later on we find them everywhere. It will be clear that the object of "philological" teaching was very different from what it is at present. What was aimed at was neither historical study nor training for original research, but application of the knowledge thus acquired to actual composition, with the ultimate object of resuming and continuing the literature of classical antiquity. There was indeed no sharp boundary-line between these imitative

essays and the original efforts of Neo-Latin literature.

II. THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The external constitution of the secondary schools City-Schools. may be outlined as follows. Since 1543 two different kinds of secondary schools had existed side by side throughout Protestant Germany—city-schools (*Stadt-Schulen*) and State schools (*Staats-Schulen*). The city-schools, direct descendants of the mediæval institutions of the same name, were founded by the city and administered by its council, which appointed and paid the teachers; in many cases, particularly in the smaller towns, the “*Rektor*,” *i.e.*, the headmaster, was at the same time town clerk. The city council also managed the school inspection and issued school regulations, usually with the assistance of the clergy. Existing schools were re-organised and numerous new ones founded; above all, higher secondary schools with a more advanced course of studies, including, in their upper standards, wherever this could be accomplished, the first stages of academical instruction in the form of what were known as *Lectiones publicae*. The possession of such a school was coveted by all prosperous towns that cherished a spirit of ambition and an ideal of independence.

The State schools, called either Territorial Schools Territorial Schools. (*Landes-Schulen*) or, in some cases, Convent Schools (*Kloster-Schulen*), were an innovation belonging to the age of the Reformation. Founded by the territorial sovereign (and therefore also called *Fürsten-Schulen*) they were administered and superintended by his government. Their object was to train gifted youths from all parts of his country for the public service at the public expense. Their foundation may be

looked upon as a response to the demands which Luther had addressed to the secular authorities. It was Maurice of Saxony who led the way in establishing such institutions; in 1543 he founded the famous three *Fürsten-Schulen* of Saxony at Pforta, Meissen and Grimma, endowing them with the buildings and other property of secularised convents. They were to receive 230 boys, 100 vacancies to be filled by the cities of his territory, seventy-six by the nobility, and fifty-four by the sovereign himself. The pupils, who were selected according to their ability and lack of means, and who had already mastered the rudiments of Latin, were prepared for the university by a course of studies which usually occupied five or six years, extending, as a rule, between the ages of twelve and twenty. Arrangements were further made at the territorial universities of Leipsic and Wittenberg to make higher academic studies accessible to them at the public expense, by the establishment of free maintenance for students. In return they engaged themselves to serve the sovereign in their after life either in clerical or temporal appointments. The example given by Saxony was followed by a series of similar foundations, amongst the more famous of which may be mentioned, in the South, the *Kloster-Schulen* of Würtemberg (1559) and the schools of Ansbach (1582) and Coburg (1605); and in the North the State schools of Pomerania and Brandenburg at Stettin (1543) and Joachimsthal (1607).

The establishment of State schools marked a significant advance on the road from the mediæval to the modern state. For it implied the acknowledgment that the preservation of learning and of professional studies are an immediate concern of the State. Nor was it a less significant progress in the

development of educational institutions themselves. For the State schools have become the backbone of secondary education in all its forms. They represent the model to which the other secondary schools strive to conform. They have preserved the continuity of teaching during all the storms which have burst over the educational institutions of Germany. Above all, the famous schools of Saxony and Würtemberg have played an important part in that respect. The great number of eminent men which they have continued to produce down to our own times bear witness to the powerful moral and intellectual influences at work in such schools, firmly rooted in their traditions. These institutions occupy a similar place in Germany to that of the old public schools in England.

We now turn to their course of instruction. The arrangement of the standards or forms was based on the general scheme of three progressive stages—elementary stage, reading and writing; middle stage, the rudiments of Latin grammar; upper stage, introduction to the classical authors and exercises in the imitation of their style. In Melanchthon's School Regulations of 1527 these three stages are represented by three corresponding forms (*loca*, i.e., separate groups of pupils, who were all instructed in the same schoolroom). These School Regulations were evidently made to meet the exigencies of smaller towns. Wherever the number of students and the means at the disposal of the authorities were more considerable, the number of forms was increased, in most cases to five, which was accomplished by halving the second and third stages. In cases of even greater development there was, of course, nothing to prevent the number of forms from being further increased by way of subdivision. The

Arrange-
ment of
classes.

ultimate goal in this direction, as represented by a system of yearly courses, was reached at Strassburg, where the famous J. Sturm established (since 1538) a progressive course of ten forms or classes. As a rule, each class had a teacher to itself, who gave instruction in all subjects. Accordingly, under ordinary conditions, there were three teachers; they were called *Rektor*, *Cantor* and *Baccalaureus* or *Socius*. But in smaller towns, no doubt, further reductions were not unusual.

It remains to consider the instruction provided in these schools in regard to its subjects and its method. Its scope—like that of the university instruction offered by the faculty of Arts—was determined by the alliance between the humanities and the gospel, as represented by Melanchthon. The two main subjects were languages and religious instruction, to which were added, in the larger schools, the rudiments of the sciences (*artes*). The formula by which J. Sturm expressed the goal of instruction—*sapiens atque eloquens pietas*—contained all three items: *pietas*, the pure doctrine; *eloquentia*, linguistic learning, and *sapientia*, the sciences.

“*Sapiens
atque
eloquens
pietas.*”

Latin.

Far ahead of all other subjects—in regard to the time and energy devoted to it—stood the Latin language. Indeed, it may be said to have formed the substance of teaching throughout the whole course. The instruction in Latin aimed at full mastery of the language, not merely such as was indispensable for the comprehension of the Classics, but such as could be turned to account for conversational and literary use. The word *eloquentia* signified the unrestricted possession of classical Latin, including proficiency in making Latin verses. In short, Latin was in those days a living language, actually spoken by the world of letters and learning.

Secondary Schools (1500-1650) 69

A correct and, as far as possible, elegant Latin diction furnished the test of the educated man just as does in our own day a perfect command of his mother tongue.

The method of instruction comprised, in the words of the old formula already mentioned, *praecepta*, *exempla* and *imitatio*. Rules (*praecepta*) were presented first and above all by the instruction in grammar, but also in rhetoric and poetry; models of style (*exempla*) were found in reading the classical authors; imitation (*imitatio*) was a general name for all exercises on the part of the pupils in the practical use of the Latin language, in writing as well as *viva voce*. The grammatical instruction was continued from the beginning until the end of the whole course; one hour daily was set aside for it by the School Regulations for the Electorate of Saxony: "for no greater harm could be done to the Arts than by a defective training of youth in grammar." Certainly, no educated man could compromise himself more than by grammatical mistakes, and this is a feeling which still comes natural to us to-day. Reading and imitation were practised side by side throughout the whole course. The written and oral exercises began with short sentences and their transmutations and led up to orations and poems. There was no lack of opportunities in the after life of the scholar for turning the acquired skill to practical account. Every joyful or sad occasion in public or private life incited him to the composition of prose or verse, poems nuptial and funereal, salutatory and valedictory, birthday and other congratulations. Accordingly, such "imitation" was really the main object of instruction, which determined not only the selection of the authors to be read but also the method of reading them. Only

such authors were read whose diction it was safe to imitate, and, in reading them, the interest was centred on the form, not on the content of their writings. The pupils noted and collected in their commonplace books all expressions, idioms, phrases, aphorisms, tropes and metaphors they encountered, in order to embellish with them their own literary products. The authors who were principally read in the middle stage were Æsop, Ovid, Terence and Cæsar, together with some more modern books of dialogues, while in the upper stage, Cicero and Virgil were those chiefly in use.

Another important point was that Latin was not only a subject, but—wherever this could possibly be enforced—also the language of instruction. The pupils were strictly forbidden to speak German at school, even in talking to each other. Whoever so far forgot himself as to speak German (*teutonizare*, *vulgarizare*) in this isolated Latin community had to pay the penalty of the rod—*poenas luet natibus*, as it was put in one of the numerous School Regulations. In this way ear and tongue were easily and effectively accustomed to the foreign idiom from childhood. The same purpose was served by school theatricals, which occupied a rather important position in the school life of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Plays—either by classical authors or written by the teacher for the occasion—were acted by the students before an invited audience; in some cases we even find permanent school-stages erected for the purpose. To write such plays was almost regarded as a part of the teacher's regular duties—for had he not learnt poetry? Their subjects were taken either from biblical or profane history, and they consisted, in the main, in versified eloquence, coming from the mouth of *dramatis personae* who were, often enough, nothing

but allegorical figures, such as *Fortitudo*, *Fides*, *Sapientia*, or *Luxuries*, *Avaritia*, and so on. This imitative poetry with its moralising rhetoric went on being produced until about the end of the seventeenth century; its last survivals were only swept away by the poetry of the *Sturm und Drang* period.

The Greek language, which was taught in all large Greek. schools, held the position next to Latin, but at a long interval behind it. It was not a living language like the other; and although the serious scholar might regard it as a necessary requisite, to all others it was not much more than an ornament that could be dispensed with. The method of instruction was the same as in Latin; here, too, grammar occupied the foremost place, and reading was supplemented by imitation, as if Greek had also been regarded as a language to be adopted for literary purposes. It is true, there was something like a Neo-Greek literature; but, compared with the Neo-Latin, it was a mere shadow. As a matter of fact, no doubt, many left the school without any knowledge of Greek at all, while the still greater number of those who had only just acquired the first rudiments hardly availed themselves of the opportunities offered by the universities to redeem these defects. The complaints of humanistic professors in this respect were numerous enough. Those who were most anxious to acquire the language of the Gospels and St Paul were naturally the theologians. In consequence, the instruction, which had originally been called into being and arranged on humanistic rather than theological lines, devoted an ever-increasing attention to the New Testament, while Homer and Demosthenes, as well as the original text of Aristotle, came more and more to be neglected.

Hebrew. Theological considerations also led to Hebrew being included in the curriculum of the larger schools, but the instruction never went beyond the first rudiments.

Religious
instruc-
tion.

Of much greater importance was the religious instruction. It owed its existence to the Reformation; the new Church pointed with pride to its catechism, an achievement unknown to its adversaries. Here, again, the character of the new ecclesiastical education became apparent; the true doctrine was the cardinal point, to which cult and sacraments were subordinated. It was, therefore, essential that men should be imbued with the true doctrine from childhood, it being, as Luther once said, as hard to make old sinners pious as to tame old rams. Originally the instruction was of the simplest description. According to the Regulations for Saxony (1527) the old foundations of the faith had first of all to be committed to memory, *i.e.*, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Commandments, together with a few psalms and a simple interpretation. Then followed the grammatical exposition of one of the Gospels or some other book of the New Testament. Later on, as the new order of things became more firmly established, and the new theology was further developed, the instruction assumed a more complex and dogmatical character, representing, in the upper stage, an introductory course in dogmatic theology. It should also be mentioned that the whole school had to be present at church during every divine service (*i.e.*, at first daily), and that divine service took, in all cases, more or less the shape of religious instruction, since the Scripture and its interpretation always formed its main substance. Thus the sermon became part of the religious instruction of the scholars; and it is

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hardly necessary to add that all lessons at school were opened with prayer.

In the upper stage of the larger schools the instruction further included the rudiments of sciences (Artes). Grammar was supplemented by rhetoric and dialectics, the former principally treating of "invention" or the production of ideas, and "disposition" or the style of their arrangement, the latter of argument and demonstration. In the large schools, public orations and disputations were another regular institution. To these subjects were added the rudiments of the *Artes reales*—arithmetic and geometry, physics and cosmology, all of which were, of course, taught according to the old system. History as a separate subject was not known, but the study of classical literature naturally engendered a certain amount of historical and archæological erudition.

The instruction in singing and music must not be forgotten; it formed an essential part of the instruction in an educational institution which was so closely connected with the Church, and whose real ambition was indeed to be *Seminarium ecclesiae*, a seminary of the Church.

This was the type of the new secondary schools of the sixteenth century, established by Melanchthon according to the combined Protestant and humanistic programmes. Its principal outlines remained unaltered until the great educational reforms at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

A few words may be added concerning school discipline. It remained as strict as it had been in the Middle Ages. The training of youth followed the maxim, "Learn to obey!" a principle which was held, later on, by no other than Goethe. Indeed, learning itself was a kind of obeying; for all teaching

and learning, alike in elementary and in grammar schools, took the shape of learning the lessons by heart and hearing them afterwards. Whoever would or could not comply with this demand was soon made to taste the bitter herb of necessity. For the rod remained the panacea of training and instruction. There was no school in which it was not wielded every day, often enough—we have reason to believe—in an unmerciful manner, not only wilful misconduct but also forgetfulness and incapacity being punished by it. This state of things remained essentially the same until towards the end of the eighteenth century. No real change took place until the nineteenth century, when the rod ceased altogether to be valued as an educative instrument, with the result that it has now almost completely disappeared from the higher schools. Oskar Jäger tells us, it is true, that in Würtemberg, until the middle of the nineteenth century, the old custom prevailed of rewarding blunders in Latin or Greek accidence by a certain number of “cuts” according to a fixed scale. I trust that, in the meantime, even Swabia has learned how to unlock the mysteries of Latin grammar without this key.

III. THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Origin of
the Pro-
testant
Elemen-
tary
School.

The elementary schools also owe their existence, at least indirectly, to the Reformation. Here again it was the general character of the new Church which created the new demand. The true faith, founded on the pure doctrine, was regarded as the main substance of religion, and the pure doctrine was, in its turn, based on the Scriptures—not on any ecclesiastic authority, but exclusively on the

Scriptures. Hence it was Luther's principal care to make this source of all truth once more accessible to all who believed in Christ. The translation of the Bible into the common tongue, which had hitherto been jealously guarded by the priests, was his great work during the third decade of the century. Thus it became desirable that all members of the Church should be taught the art of reading, in order that all of them might have immediate access to the Word of God. This step naturally rendered another necessary. A correct comprehension of Holy Writ could not be arrived at without assistance. Unguided scriptural studies were only too prone to lead men astray; the new Church was not spared this experience any more than the old. To prevent this, and to point out the right way to the proper comprehension of the Scripture, Luther wrote his two catechisms, a shorter one for general use and a larger one for the instruction of clergymen and teachers. In these was embodied the *Summa doctrinae*, according to which the Scripture was to be read and interpreted.

This instruction in reading and catechism, which was to pave the way for the general use of the Scripture and assist in its interpretation, was the root-stock from which has grown up the Protestant elementary school.

Of course, it did not spring forth from the head of the reformers ready-made and in full armour like Pallas Athena. Even in theory the "German school" was only very gradually acknowledged as a special educational institution, independent of the grammar school, and a still longer time had to elapse until its emancipation actually took place. At first the whole attention of the reformers was occupied by the urgent need for reforms and new foundations

Early stages of the "German" or National School.

within the domain of the secondary school; a more general instruction was only connected with it in an informal way. This was the meaning of Luther's remarks in his *Epistles to the Christian Nobility* (1520) and to the *Magistrates of German Cities* (1524). In the former he incidentally mentioned a school for girls, where "young maidens might be instructed in the gospel an hour each day, either in German or Latin"; in the latter—speaking of the grammar schools to be established by the municipal councils as city-schools—he recommended that boys not destined for a learned profession should be "sent to such schools one or two hours daily, which need not prevent them from being busy at home, learning a trade, for the rest of the time." The *School Regulations for the Electorate of Saxony* likewise mentioned only one school, open to all boys of the town. In this instance the instruction in the German language was expressly excluded; only Latin was to be taught, not German or Greek or Hebrew, as had been attempted in some previous cases, without regard to the poor children, who were overburdened by such a multitude of subjects! Accordingly, the boys had to read and write in Latin from the very beginning; Donatus and Cato were also placed in their hands. The instruction in Latin grammar and the reading of classical authors began in the second form. German seems to have been, however, the language of the religious instruction in the stricter sense of the word; for had the interpretation of the Creed, the Commandments and the Lord's Prayer been given in Latin, it could hardly have served its avowed purpose of "teaching children the beginning of a Christian and godly life." Boys who were gifted above the average and destined for a studious career would then pass into the third

form, the humanistic class proper, while the others entered practical life, happy in the possession of their catechism and a smattering of Latin. The later School Regulations issued by Melancthon and Bugenhagen also let the matter rest there; the grammar school continued to occupy the place of the public school, open to everybody; "German schools" were only incidentally mentioned as being in existence and tolerated.

The earliest School Regulations which devoted a separate paragraph to "German schools" were those issued in 1559 by Christopher Duke of Württemberg, which were important in more respects than one. All their essential points were adopted by the Regulations for the Electorate of Saxony of 1580. Here again, it is true, the German school continued to be regarded as nothing more than a makeshift for villages and market-towns; wherever a "regular," *i.e.*, a grammar school existed, the German school was treated as a mere annex or offshoot. According to these Regulations the instruction in the German school, which was, as a rule, given by the sacristan or parish clerk—it was expressly stipulated that he should not be beadle or constable at the same time!—comprised reading, writing, catechism and singing. The clergyman was the school inspector; the school-master was elected by the parishioners, but he had to pass an examination before the *Superintendent* * in respect to his faith and professional ability.

Thus, in the official Regulations, the German or national schools were only dealt with incidentally. It was not until the seventeenth century that the activity of educational reformers led to their being

* In the Lutheran Church the place of the bishop in the old Church was taken by the *General-Superintendent*. The district under his control is subdivided into smaller circuits, each under a *Superintendent*. The latter is the immediate superior of the clergymen.

Progress
in Würt-
temberg
and
Saxony.

Private
schools.

recognised by the local authorities as a special and important department of their communal organisation. But this pressing and ever-increasing need did not have to wait so long to find some kind of supply. The German reading and writing schools, which had been established by private enterprise in the larger towns as early as the fifteenth century, naturally remained in existence and grew in number, although they were looked at askance and persecuted as "hedge schools" by the official representatives of education. We find them mentioned incidentally in some School Regulations, as in those for the cities of Brunswick and Hamburg, where they are spoken of as recognised institutions, whose teachers were appointed by the city council. So too in the villages, where there is no reason to doubt that the young Church evinced an equal zeal in providing for the general instruction of youth, the purport of the School Regulations was to authorise and make compulsory institutions which were already in existence here and there, rather than to call new ones into being.

Church
and home
influences.

Besides the school we may assume that Church and home education exerted a steadily-increasing influence. It is not likely that Luther's earnestness in urging, as he did in the preface to his shorter Catechism (1529), that it was the duty of clergymen and fathers of families to give instruction to children and domestics should have been without its due effects. No doubt, such teaching was limited, in its simplest form, to making their pupils repeat after them the Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer until they knew everything by heart. But this was bound sooner or later to lead to some instruction in reading. My own mother taught me to read many years before I was sent to a school,

and I have reason to think that this practice was far from exceptional in Protestant farmhouses, and must be referred back for its origin to the age of the Reformation. In the same way the clergymen were the teachers not only of their grown-up parishioners but also of their children. The sermon, which was itself of an instructive character, was regularly supplemented by the Sunday school, in which the clergyman's place was, by the way, sometimes taken by the parish clerk.

IV. THE JESUITS

I will not enter here into the parallel development of educational institutions within the sphere of the Swiss Reformation. But the educational reforms in the Roman Catholic territories must be sketched at least in their outlines. On the whole, they showed the same character as the Protestant reforms, by which they were, no doubt, influenced. Peculiar traits were, however, not altogether absent, especially in the sphere of higher education, the most important being this that, in the Catholic territories, secondary schools, as represented on Protestant soil by the territorial schools, were not founded either by the State or directly by the Church, but by an international association—the Society of Jesus.

The Order of the Jesuits was, like that of the Dominicans, the gift of Spain to the nations of the West. Founded by Ignatius of Loyola, it had been confirmed by the Pope in 1540. From the first the Jesuits made educational work one of their principal objects. The attainment of the great aim of their Order—the rehabilitation of the Church, the subjection of the world under the dominion of the Pope, and, above all, the recovery of those who had fallen

into heresy, seemed to depend on nothing so much as on their success in providing the Church with a clergy of sound learning, regenerated morals and unfailing discipline. To meet this demand was one of the principal tasks which the society had set itself from the beginning. The Order of the Jesuits was intended to be an order of professors, like the Dominican Order in the thirteenth century. Accordingly, their constitution always insisted upon the rule that, in selecting novices, the possession of natural gifts and readiness to submit to discipline should be taken into consideration before anything else. The Order has attained its goal, for it has become the professorial Order of the Roman Catholic Church. Indeed, as early as about 1600, it had already under its control the greater part of the higher educational institutions—the *Gymnasien* as well as the theological and philosophical faculties—in all Roman Catholic countries between the Tagus and the Vistula.

“Col-
leges”
(*studia*
inferiora).

In Germany the principal territories in which the educational institutions had already been entrusted to the Jesuits were those belonging to the Habsburg and Wittelsbach dynasties, besides the episcopal possessions along the Rhine and Main.

As to the external constitution of the educational establishments under the control of the Order, most of the colleges were founded and endowed by secular and spiritual lords, some by cities and private persons. But the Society did not take over any such foundation except on condition that it was invested with unlimited authority to organise, conduct and superintend the instruction as it thought fit. The Regulations were issued by the General of the Order himself; the famous Order of Studies (*Ratio studiorum*) of 1599, the author of which was Aquaviva, the fourth General, determined the scheme of instruction in all

colleges until new Regulations were issued by General Roothaan in 1836. The General also appointed the *P. Rector*, while the Provincial engaged the prefect of studies and the teachers of each college; they had no obligation except towards him and the Order. The patron had to forego all influence on the institution he had founded, and to content himself with finding the means! It was, indeed, a unique arrangement, implying an unparalleled measure of confidence and self-denial, an international corporation, entrusted with the training and education of youth throughout Europe at the expense of the territorial authorities!

There were three groups of students in each college. The nucleus was formed by the novices of the Society (*nostris*). To these were added the pensioners—often scions of noble families, including even the reigning houses—whose education was entrusted to the Society. Besides these there were day boys from the town, who shared only in the instruction, which was given gratuitously. Many colleges, especially in cathedral towns, had a theological seminary attached to them, placed under the control of the Fathers, in which poor boys were educated for the clerical profession.

The curriculum was not very different from that of the larger Protestant schools. We find the same scheme of classes or forms and the same subjects of instruction, *Linguae et Artes*, to which was now also added religious instruction after the example set by Protestantism. Amongst the languages Latin occupied the first place, since, as the Order was international in its composition, Latin formed the general means of communication. Here, too, the goal of instruction was “eloquence”; rhetoric and poetry, including dramatic poetry and theatrical perform-

ances, were cultivated with assiduous zeal. Greek, on the other hand, was pushed further into the background, the Scriptures not being read in the original text. The elements of the sciences and of secular knowledge were taught under the general title of "erudition."

University
studies
(*studia
superiora*).

University studies (*studia superiora*) were provided in some colleges in addition to the school studies (*studia inferiora*). They comprised a three years' course in philosophical subjects and a four years' course in theology. S. Thomas Aquinas was the all-revered master, whose doctrine was not to be departed from without necessity, and then only *summa reverentia*. The members of the Order who had gone through the course as pupils were, as a rule, afterwards employed as teachers for a more or less prolonged period, according to their ability; and this way of repeating the course served to give an additional thoroughness to their own education.

Educa-
tional suc-
cesses of
the
Society.

The success of the Order was brilliant, nay, overwhelming. Within two generations it had become the professorial Order of the Roman Catholic world; in 1616 it had 372 colleges, with 13,112 members in thirty-two provinces. It must, moreover, be freely admitted that this success was, in the main, obtained by genuine educational achievements. I am convinced that the teachers whom the Order provided for the Roman Catholic countries were the best, the most learned, the most capable and the most dutiful that could have been found for them. Ignorance, dulness, idleness, awkwardness, indifference are no recommendation in any position of life, but least of all in that of a teacher. That the Order had mastered contemporary learning in all its branches, the culture of the Renaissance as well as the logic of the schoolmen, cannot be doubted, and indeed,

amongst its members were to be found a considerable number of well-known representatives of scholarship. It also deserves notice that, even at that early date, every "Provincial" was bound by the constitutions in express terms to see that the teachers acquired skill in the methods of education. The colleges of the Jesuits may therefore be regarded as the earliest training colleges for higher teachers. No wonder, then, that the success of their methods of instruction called forth so much praise. In later years they have often been blamed for systematically stimulating the personal ambition of their pupils by competitions, prizes and similar enticements, nor can I myself commend this method. No doubt it is better for the pupils to devote themselves to learning for its own sake rather than from external considerations. But if the choice lies between prizes and the rod, I confess that I prefer prizes. Of the rod the Fathers seem to have made only a very limited and cautious use. In cases where corporal punishment was unavoidable it was administered by a special corrector appointed for the purpose; the teacher was not to come into such degrading contact with his pupils every day. The general principles of education were, of course, determined by the character of the Order and of the Church. Needless to say the education in these colleges did not aim at developing personal individuality, but rather at binding the individual by the universal order of things, in the last resort by the faith and the customs of the Church, although, of course, this was accomplished under the appearance of assisting the rational powers of the soul. The whole education of the members of the Order pointed in that direction, aiming as it did at the complete extinction of the sensual and accidental ego. This was accompanied by a passionate sur-

render of the individual will and being to the universal order of things, to the Church, in the last resort to God and His kingdom. The "spiritual exercises" became the principal means by which the Jesuits attained this goal of complete self-annihilation and absolute discipline, even in thought and feeling, and at the same time of absolute self-surrender to the glory of God and the Church. The education of the other youths entrusted to the colleges had, of course, the same object in view, nor can it be doubted that here, too, many a lasting success was obtained. It should not be overlooked that it was not by severe measures of external compulsion, but rather by inner discipline and appeals to conscience and the sense of honour that the Jesuits dominated the spirits of their pupils. If, on the other hand, they did not hesitate to have recourse to such dangerous means as the manipulation of conscience, mutual espionage, or the reckless incitement of personal ambition, the reason must again be found in the leading principle that he who wills the end must also will the means.

Its decline. In the eighteenth century the educational reputation of the Society, whose institutions had made such brilliant progress during the seventeenth century, and had so largely contributed to the restitution of the Church, began to decline. We shall probably not go far wrong in seeking the cause of this in the attitude of suspicion and hostility displayed by the Order and by the Roman Church, which was then under its leadership, towards the new sciences and the new philosophy, which had carried everything before them since the end of the seventeenth century.

As far as the Order of the Jesuits itself was concerned there could be no mistake about the uncompromising character of this hostility. For its first

principle was absolute subordination to authority; its main enterprise was a struggle against the will of the individual; its leading tendency suppression of all innovations, whether religious or intellectual. One rule contained in the constitutions was very significant in this respect; young men who appeared fond of innovations were not to be employed as teachers. Great, therefore, as had been the first success of this fighting Order, its progress did not correspond with its early promise. The intellect refused to be bound, and as in the end the Order and the Church were found to bar the way to all progress they lost the leadership. That lead was now taken by Protestantism, and the Protestant countries carried the day in all departments of life, in science and philosophy as well as in economy and politics. The fame of the colleges of the Jesuits was waning fast, and, in 1773, their Order was suspended by the Church itself. This was the period of enlightenment, when belief in human reason stood at its zenith, and when the world of Protestantism found in Kant's philosophy the ultimate formula for its self-consciousness—autonomy of reason and conscience.

One might look upon it all as an experiment undertaken by history itself on a large scale to decide the conflict between the principle of freedom and responsibility and the principle of the absolute subordination of the individual to an external authority. Not many experiments of this kind could be found which led to a more unambiguous result than in this case. The Protestant nations were the representatives of progress and lawful liberty, whilst the Roman Catholic nations wavered between absolutism and convulsive upheavals, and chronic revolutionarism was sapping their strength.

V. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Longevity
of the new
orders of
studies.

The educational system which was called into being under the combined influences of Humanism and the Reformation proved to be of very long duration. In its principal outlines it remained in existence until the end of the eighteenth century, which proves at any rate that it met the general requirements. It had assimilated the two great educational forces of its time, Christianity and classical antiquity, the latter in two separate parts: firstly, its science and philosophy, as incorporated in the Aristotelian system and adopted already by the Middle Ages, and secondly, its poetry and eloquence, as imparted by the Humanists. It was not until the great reforms at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the new educational forces which had been created during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the modern sciences, the modern languages and their literatures, were turned to account and included in the range of compulsory subjects of instruction, with the further result, brought about in our own days, that their superabundance burst the bands which had so far restricted secondary education to one single type of schools.

Schism
between
the "edu-
cated" and
"unedu-
cated"
classes.

As to the practical achievements of this system of the sixteenth century, there can hardly be room for any doubt that the object which before all others it had at heart, *i.e.*, Latin composition, was on the whole attained. Classical Latin was generally adopted by the world of learning as its own language and handled with some fluency and ease, not seldom even with elegance. Nor can it be doubtful that the taste for literary form and the interest in æsthetic

culture in general were considerably raised and increased by the contact with the Classics. It must be added at once, however, that neither the German language nor the masses of the German people benefited from this improvement of æsthetic and literary culture. On the contrary, the German language declined and decayed during this ascendancy of classical Latin. It was not until then that the great separation arose in the nation between the "educated" and "uneducated" classes, which divided it into a thin layer of scholars who had studied the Classics and expressed themselves in classical Latin on the one hand, and on the other the great masses of the people, who understood only German and, in consequence, found themselves debarred from literature and learning. In the Middle Ages Latin was, after all, not much more than the official language of one profession, the clergy, whereas the lay aristocracy spoke the same language as the people, which was at the same time the language of contemporary poetry, that of the knights as well as of the middle classes. But now the lay aristocracy and a part of the middle classes also acquired the new education; Latin became the language of literature in all its branches, and even the proceedings of the law courts were carried on in Latin, or at least in German-Latin. Mere German became the language of the masses, the language of those who had learnt nothing and knew nothing, either of religion and law—the "sources" of which were not accessible to them—or of literature and art, which existed only for people who had gone through grammar school and university. A man like Hans Sachs presented to those who shared this neo-classical education only a comic aspect. Their feelings towards the democratic culture of the

later Middle Ages found expression in the well-known lines:

“Hans Sachs was a shoe-
Maker and a poet too.”

A shoemaker who never learnt Latin and never heard any professor's lectures on poetry, actually pretending to be a poet! Thus it came about that the German people sank to that state of torpidity from which it did not begin to rise again until about the middle of the eighteenth century. The masses of the people were ignorant outsiders. They had to look up to a learned clergy who guarded the “pure doctrine”; to learned judges who administered an abstruse law of foreign origin; and to learned professors who watched over literature and science and wrote Latin verses and dissertations.

Disastrous
effects on
the
German
language.

The German language itself fell into poverty and decay in consequence of this long-continued disuse. There was not a single great writer between Luther and Lessing, who wrote in German, for the simple reason that no one addressed himself to the people but only to scholars in Latin, and, as it were, behind closed doors. No wonder, then, that, when the German language began to be used again, about the end of the seventeenth century, it showed such a dismal aspect, betraying its own poverty by countless words borrowed from Latin and French, wanting pith and backbone, and disfigured by the cumbersome imitation of Latin periods. Anyone who takes up Thomasius after Luther, reading a few pages, say, of his *Monthly Journal*, after a chapter from Luther's “Epistle to the German Nobility,” must realise what a terrible disaster had befallen the German language during those two centuries. The other languages were less affected by the invasion

of Latin, not only because they were more nearly related to it in regard to vocabulary and construction, but also because the desuetude of the mother tongue in the domain of literature was much less complete and prolonged than in Germany. It is sufficient to mention the names of Montaigne, Shakespeare and Cervantes to make this plain. Of course, the great events of political history had also something to do with this. About the same time that the nations of Western Europe found their unity in national states, the German people sank into absolute political insignificance. It was this decline of the national self-consciousness which, together with the decay of the German language, paved the way for that great incursion of the French language in the seventeenth century, which resulted in its being generally recognised for more than a hundred years as the language of "Society."

I should not like to lay myself open to miscon- Gains.
struction. Deplorable as is this aspect of the course of events it would be foolish to wish that Humanism had had no place at all in the history of German education. *Unda fert nec regitur*, history goes its own way, and sometimes its paths are crooked and lie through marshes. Even if it had been possible to erect a barrier between the German nation and this general movement of Western civilisation, it could not but have been in every way disastrous. The whole content of our inner life could not have been what it is without the Renaissance. In the first place the Reformation could not have taken place, and still less the later development of thought and learning, for philosophy and the natural sciences were fertilised by it as well as history and the humanistic sciences. In the same way the transformation of the mediæval state, based on the feudalistic

system, into the modern state, based on the interests of national civilisation and culture, could hardly be conceived without the Renaissance. Nor can it be doubted that, during this century and a half, which formed the transition-period between the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern era in the stricter sense, intellectual culture grew very considerably in extent, learning as well as general education spreading through ever-widening circles, thanks to the Reformation. The spread of learning was furthered above all by the development of a system of officials, clerical and lay, with an academical education; about the middle of the seventeenth century there was not a single village in Germany without a clergyman who had received his education at a university. The spread of general education, on the other hand, was furthered principally by the development of the elementary schools. We may assume that, by the end of the seventeenth century, the art of reading was already so general that, even amongst the lower orders, its absence was considered an unseemly defect. But, above all, the German Bible remained a valuable possession, a heritage of our forefathers, by which at the same time the German language was safely preserved for a better future.

The print-
ing-press.

A few general observations may be offered here concerning the influence of the printing-press and of reading on the progress of education. In the first place they made instruction and the circulation of ideas independent of personal communication; and in doing so they relieved the pressure exercised on education by school and Church, and in general by those in authority, and opened the door to individualism. Without this the whole development of modern history would not have been possible. In the Middle Ages no teaching or learning could be carried on

except in institutions and by methods which were officially recognised. Schools and universities were under the control of the established authorities, above all of the Church; and any new ideas which did not find favour could easily be suppressed by suppressing those who advocated them. The art of printing set the word free from these personal restrictions. As soon as an idea is in print it becomes, so to speak, omnipresent; free from the limits of space and time, it baffles all attempts at seizure and suppression. If Luther could not have exerted his influence except in his lecture-room at Wittenberg, his revolution could have been quenched as easily as many another before it. If the success of the Reformation had depended on the attitude of the universities it would never have become a fact. But as it was, printed leaflets were flying through every land and fanning the flames in a thousand different places at the same time. In a similar manner the printing-press has paved the way for all the great movements that followed, down to our own times. All attempts at capturing and quelling ideas, once they are in print—and the beginnings of censorship are as old as the beginnings of the printing-press itself—have proved without exception futile. It can hardly be wrong to assume that the astonishing intellectual versatility, so characteristic of modern Europe, is most intimately connected with the development of the art of printing. The same is to be said of its social versatility, as manifested in the progressive loosening of class partitions; an instructive book or an exciting pamphlet finds its way into nooks and corners which are quite beyond the reach of the schools.

BOOK III

THE AGE OF MODERN COURTLY
CULTURE UNDER PREDOMIN-
ANTLY FRENCH INFLU-
ENCES (1650-1800)

THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

CHAPTER I

THE PRINCIPAL TENDENCIES OF THE PERIOD AND THE NEW IDEAL OF EDUCATION

THE Peace of Westphalia marks an important epoch in our history. It may be regarded as a beginning and as an end, the end of the rule of theology and the beginning of a new culture and education, based on science and philosophy. Indeed, one might treat it—as has been done recently by more historians than one—as the real starting-point of modern times, so that the preceding period would have to be included in the Middle Ages. But on the other hand the dominant tendencies of the whole modern period originated and took their shape in the age of the Renaissance and the Reformation; and the cleavage made by the destruction of the unity of the Church is so deep and well defined that it seems to constitute the proper starting-point of the great historical period to which our own time belongs.

The general trend of the new development of education and educational institutions may be described as a rapidly-advancing modernisation and secularisation. This implied a progressive emancipation from classical antiquity as well as from supernatural Christianity. It must be added, however, that the secularisation called forth a reaction in the shape of the Pietistic movement, while afterwards, during the second half of the eighteenth century,

The new period.

Progressive secularisation and modernisation of educational institutions.

Neo-Humanism formed a counter-movement against the emancipation from classical antiquity.

Paris.

A few words may be premised concerning the progress of Western civilisation in general. The main starting-point of the new movement was France, which was soon joined by Holland and England. The centre of the intellectual life of the European nations, which, in the sixteenth century, had gravitated towards Italy and Germany, the countries which had given birth to the Renaissance and the Reformation, now moved westward. Paris had become the fountain-head of a new courtly culture and education.

Rational-
istic tend-
encies.

The great changes in the intellectual world which were ushered in during the first, and which took actual shape in the second half of the seventeenth century, were chiefly determined, on the one side, by the retreat of supernaturalistic theology, and, on the other, by a decided advance of natural science, especially in its mathematical branches, on which was based a new mundane philosophy. The theological and ecclesiastical interests, which had once more come to the fore and ruled the world during the time of the Reformation and the counter-movements which it called forth (almost crushing, at times, the interests of secular education, as advocated by the Renaissance), were now pushed aside and, indeed, in wide circles almost completely supplanted by new intellectual interests—those of modern philosophy and science. The long and terrible wars to which the ecclesiastical schism had given rise everywhere, the war of the Huguenots in France, the Thirty Years' War in Germany, and the Civil War in England, had, in the end, created a feeling of indifference towards religious and theological problems. Did it really pay, people asked themselves, to kill each other and devastate each other's countries for

the sake of such questions? Could these problems ever be decided at all? If not, was it not much more reasonable to let every one believe what he could, and, instead of wasting breath and arguments, convincing to nobody, on transubstantiation, predestination and real presence, to cultivate sciences which really placed lasting and verifiable truths within the reach of the understanding, such as mathematics and natural philosophy, geography and astronomy? Here were sciences which offered knowledge to the mind that could be turned to account in this earthly life, whereas those transcendental speculations were of no use at all but for those equally transcendental consequences which every theologian represented as arising out of the pious submission to his own special doctrine! About the end of the seventeenth century this spirit of indifference and scepticism towards theology, and sometimes even towards religion in general and the future world, formed a most important factor of the intellectual attitude of the times. It underlay the endless complaints on the part of the theologians about the rise of "atheism." This word was coined in those days and soon became applied to nearly every great philosopher in his turn—not only to Spinoza and Hobbes, but also to such men as Descartes, Locke and Leibnitz. But the wrath of the theologians was of no avail, and the arrows which they levelled at the spirit of the new age rebounded and fell harmlessly to the ground. The time had come for the ideas of toleration, liberalism and natural right to take their turn; the Middle Ages had finally come to an end.

The development of rationalism which formed the keynote of the following period was largely influenced by the circumstance that mathematics and its

application to natural science formed the starting-point of the new philosophy. The triumphal progress of these sciences was inaugurated by Copernicus, who withdrew the celestial phenomena from the interpretation of the senses, subjecting them to reason and mathematical construction. Galileo opened the door for mathematics to enter into the domain of physics; here, again, the simple description of the phenomena, as perceived by the senses, which had been embodied in scholastic physics in the shape of the Aristotelian mechanics, was replaced by the *a priori* construction of the intellect, dictating laws, as it were, to Nature herself—above all, the law of the conservation of motion, running counter to all experience of the senses. In the preface to the second edition of his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, Kant emphasised this rationalistic character of modern natural science and represented his new theory of knowledge as the only basis on which it could be built up. Indeed, the fact dominated the entire age, for the whole rationalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with its absolute faith in reason was determined by it. Mathematics was regarded as the typical form of all true science of nature, and the reshaping of all other sciences after this model was considered as the great task of the times. The philosophical system of Spinoza was, even in its mere form, a strenuously elaborated attempt at the solution of this problem.

The belief that the course of Nature is governed by immutable laws is only a different formula for the belief in human reason. For if Nature is to be comprehended by reason, its facts must satisfy the postulates of reason and be necessitated in accordance with universal laws. This leaves no room for chance or for the miraculous, since chance becomes alto-

gether inconceivable, while miracles become equally repugnant to the understanding as the arbitrary and anarchical intrusion of a transcendental world. The miracles wrought by demons were the first to be cast aside, and with them fell those spectral and diabolical beings themselves who had only quite recently plunged the Catholic and Protestant world alike in all the ghastly horrors of the persecutions attendant upon the belief in witchcraft. The belief in divine miracles also soon began to decline, being replaced by the belief that God governs the world in accordance with unalterable laws and with the postulates of reason. The theological rationalism of the eighteenth century, which aimed at interpreting the Scripture from this standpoint, thus ridding the Christian religion of the occult influences of a transcendental world, was based on the philosophical rationalism which, in the preceding age, had arisen out of the interpretation of Nature in accordance with the laws of mechanics and of mathematics. This belief in the reasonableness of the existing world led to another great change in the general view of life. A mundane optimism was gaining ground, which regarded learning and culture as opening up the path to the "relief of man's estate," to virtue and happiness. The biblical doctrine of the Fall, with its corresponding theory of a progressive degeneration of mankind, was supplanted by the belief that the history of man showed an upward tendency. Not behind us, in a paradise of dreams, but before us, in the future, lies the goal of Perfection. This was the doctrine of the scientific and social Utopias of the period.

These great changes in the intellectual world were supplemented by contemporary and equally important changes in the political and social world. The absolute monarchy of Louis XIV. was the first

Political
and social
changes.

brilliant realisation of the idea of the modern state. At the same time, the parallel development of the social constitution reached its height, the lay aristocracy gaining the first rank as court nobility, while their increasing preponderance entailed a steady sinking of the clergy and the citizens. Paris and Versailles, the residence of the Sun king (*le Roi Soleil*), became not only the meeting-place of all the nobles throughout the country but also attracted the best intellects.

In Germany this transformation of the political and social world was accomplished with even greater ease and completeness than in France, where clergy and citizens had retained some of their old authority, the former as members of a Church which was independent of the State, the latter as constituents of the judicial bench. In Germany, at least in Protestant Germany, the clergy, who had occupied the first place before the Reformation, had now completely lost the position as spiritual lords which they had enjoyed in Roman Catholic times. The clergymen were now officials in the service of the sovereign, who was regarded as the highest bishop in the Church of his State. In the country, moreover, they were absolutely dependent on the patronage of the squires, in whose gift the livings were. The citizens, once so powerful, had shared the fate of the wealthy cities, now impoverished and destroyed by the Thirty Years' War. Thus only the nobility was left besides the ruling princes. The nobility, attached to the court and to the public offices, monopolised more and more all appointments that seemed worth having in the military or civil service of their sovereign, while the great landed proprietors, invested with the privileges of magistrates, reduced the peasantry to the position of bondmen and the humbler burghers

The 17th and 18th Centuries 101

of the towns (now sunk into complete insignificance), to say the least, to a state of absolute economical and social dependence. The whole public life gravitated towards the new residences. The courts of Berlin, Hanover, Dresden, Cassel, Darmstadt, Carlsruhe, Stuttgart, Munich and Vienna were the centres not only of political but also of intellectual life. Court nobility and society were synonymous terms, for outside its ranks there were—practically speaking—only the masses.

This court society adopted the French language and French education, whilst the French monarchy supplied the type which dominated the political development of the period, and the French nobility set the standard of aristocratic tone and high life. Paris was the abode of a new international culture, where young gentlemen from all countries of Europe acquired polish and *savoir vivre*. Paris was also the birthplace of a new international literature, the courtly drama, reflecting the magnificence and splendour of this world in presenting men and women, full of dignity and pride, and qualified by their complete self-control to become rulers of the world. In Paris masters of all arts united themselves in creating illustrious works in honour of the great king—architects and horticulturists, painters and sculptors. And not only the arts, but also the new sciences found a home in Paris in the newly-created Academy, destined, by its renown and its achievements, to add farther to the shining splendour of the court.

The new
French
culture.

In face of this brilliant development classical antiquity gradually lost its lustre, as the stars of the nightly firmament lose their brightness before the rising orb of day. At the beginning of the sixteenth century men had looked up to the classics as eternal models of perfection which were beyond the reach of

emulation. But at the end of the seventeenth century they no longer shrank from comparison with them, on equal terms, perhaps even priding themselves that they had less to fear it than the ancients themselves. In the sciences, at any rate, we can imagine them saying, our superiority is witnessed by our discoveries and inventions. Even in art and poetry we are scarcely behind the ancients, and have we not in French a language as elegant and perfect as any other, and as admirably adapted to all the purposes of literature? Nor would it seem that we have reason to feel ashamed of our achievements in the sphere of politics or of war. Is it to be supposed that the Roman legions could hold their ground against our modern battalions and the long range of their arms?

In this way a great change was effected in the general sentiment towards classical antiquity. The moderns began to feel that they had nothing more to learn from the ancients, that they had ceased to be in tutelage, and had gained complete independence. Aristotle was looked down upon by Bacon and Descartes, and indeed by all modern mathematicians and physicists, technologists and physicians. What did he ever know of all these things? Was not his whole natural science a mere dialectical verbiage, operating with vague and inadequate ideas, whereas they, the modern thinkers, had subjected Nature by a real insight into the relation of cause and effect? The universities and schools had to suffer from the same contempt as Aristotle, to whom they still adhered; they were considered as institutions which had remained behind the times, and where nothing was taught but disputation and idle talk—certainly not any true science! With similar feelings the courtier looked upon the humanistic schools and upon Latin poetry and eloquence, as taught there:

obsolete arts which had ceased to be of any earthly use in real life! For was there still a demand anywhere for Latin orations and poems? And was not the same to be said in regard to learned treatises on theological dogmatics and polemics? The English Deists had the ear of the times, or Pierre Bayle with the articles of his *Dictionnaire*, written from the sceptical point of view and as sharp as steel.

The educational ideal of the preceding period—Sturm's *sapiens atque eloquens pietas*—thus passed away, to be replaced by another, aiming at polite accomplishments and knowledge of the world, the ideal, in short, of the modern courtier or *galant-homme*. As a perfect cavalier and gentleman he knows how to demean himself with faultless elegance at court or in the drawing-room. As a complete master of chivalrous arts as well as modern sciences and languages, he is fit to fill any post in the military or civil service of the court. He cannot turn Latin verses, but he expresses himself fluently in the language of modern cosmopolitanism and is at home in the latest literature. He cannot dispute on problems of scholastic philosophy and theology, but he is well versed in modern learning, *i.e.*, natural sciences and mathematics, and he also knows something of modern political history, genealogy and geography. Nor are the philosophers of the day strangers to him. The clamorous invectives of theologians against profane books cannot prevent him from reading them, for he is too much of a man of the world and a freethinker not to smile alike at the narrow-mindedness of orthodox theology and the insipid pedantry of academic philosophy.

Germany, which maintained, during the whole of this age, an essentially passive and receptive attitude, also adopted this new ideal of education. Here, too,

Germany
under its
influence.

the echoes of Molière's and Boileau's mocking taunts at scholastic philosophy and university learning were to be heard; men like Chr. Thomasius were never tired of deriding humanistic professors and scholastic philosophers as antiquated book-worms. Like Balthasar Schuppe before him, Thomasius held it to be in the highest degree absurd to condemn young people of good family to the convent life of the old schools. To be flogged into Latin verse might be good for a set of budding pedants; but who would dream of bringing up in this way men likely to cut a figure in society and at court? Leibnitz was of the same opinion. He also thought little of the old schools and universities, and considered it beneath his dignity to belong to any of them himself; his place was at court, and his language was French. In numerous memorials he undertook to delineate a new education, modern and "realistic" and utilitarian in its character, such as is indispensable nowadays to a man destined to play a prominent part in the world.

The
Pietistic
movement.

It should be noted, however, that in Germany this polite and worldly education had not so pronounced a tinge of impiety as in Roman Catholic France; religious questions were treated in a more serious spirit, not only among the bourgeoisie but also amongst the aristocracy. Thus, we frequently find here the new education entering into a very peculiar alliance with a new form of religious life, which just then began to make its appearance—I mean the Pietistic movement, which was advancing from Western Germany during the second half of the seventeenth century in opposition to the old orthodoxy. What both movements really had in common was in the first place the realistic and practical point of view, the interest in actual life, coupled with a profound aversion to pedantic scholarship and to the abstruse

speculations of academic philosophers and theologians. Of Aristotle, "the heathen," Spener spoke in pretty much the same terms as Luther. But, apart from that, the Pietists, notwithstanding their unworldliness, were by no means altogether without that "Christian prudence" which has sufficient knowledge of the world and of human weakness to find appropriate means for the attainment of necessary ends. On the other hand, the aristocracy of Protestant Germany, notwithstanding the worldly tendencies of the new education, had generally preserved not only the moral uprightness of their forefathers but also genuine piety to a larger extent than was the case in Paris. Thus we find at the seats of pious noblemen a very curious mixture of Pietistic devotion and modern courtly accomplishments. The diary of the young Count of Zinzendorf shows how lessons in dancing and French conversation alternated with prayers and religious meditation. Another typical representative of this union was V. L. von Seckendorff, the friend of Ernest the Pious and author of *The State under German Princes* and *The Christian State*. All this, of course, did not do away with the essential antagonism of the two movements or prevent it from breaking out into open enmity, wherever the contest of the two conflicting principles was accentuated. The collisions between A. H. Francke and Chr. Wolff, which led to Wolff's expulsion from Halle on the charge of flagrant atheism (1723), may be mentioned in this connection; it was impossible in the long run for the Pietist to get on with the rationalist. Another instance may be seen in the hatred and contempt with which Frederick the Great treated Pietism and "Unco' Guid"; it was, of course, quite impossible to make friends with Voltaire and Francke at the same time!

German
language
and
literature.

A few words should be added concerning the gradual rise of the German language and literature during the eighteenth century. On the whole the modern courtly education was an exotic plant in Germany and did not appeal to the national spirit. The reigning houses were almost forced by their whole position to be international, which meant anti-national. Their sovereignty rested on the fact that no all-embracing national state was in existence. Nowhere was this more evident than in the case of Frederick the Great. If, at that time, a Prussian hegemony in Germany was as yet not to be thought of, there was no other basis for him to found his authority upon but his independence of the Empire and his international position. Frederick's own sentiments were quite in accordance with this; the culture of his court was entirely French, and, as far as he could follow his personal inclinations, he surrounded himself with foreigners. Nor was the Pietistic movement more national in its character; its supernaturalistic tendencies, like those of primitive Christianity, were bound to make it indifferent towards the accidental and earthly distinctions that divided mankind. All the same, even in the Germany of the seventeenth century, manifestations were not altogether absent of a national consciousness which considered the prevalence of a foreign language and education as a disgrace to the German people. If Frenchmen and Italians could talk and write in their mother tongues, if philosophers and poets could speak French and English, like Descartes and Locke, Shakespeare and Milton, Corneille and Racine, then why could not the Germans do the same? As early as in the first half of the seventeenth century societies for the cultivation of the German language were founded, the earliest of them under the title

"Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft." At the same time numerous poets and teachers of German, from the days of Opitz to those of Gottsched, tried to stimulate the production of a classical German poetry by text-books and paradigmatic examples, giving a full range of metres and styles, of subjects and other accessories, after the model of the French and Latin poets. This imitative species of poetry, a product of learned and patriotic endeavours, died out as soon as German poets of God-given genius began to make their appearance, such as Klopstock, Lessing, Herder, Goethe and Schiller. But at any rate it had the merit of sweeping out the scurrilous filth of the vulgar literature inspired by the obscenities of Grobianus, and of making the German people realise its backwardness, as compared with other nations, thus giving a salutary spur to its intellectual activity. Philosophers also began to write in German since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The shining names of Thomasius, Wolff and Kant testify to the progress in that respect; Kant was the first great thinker who thought and wrote entirely in German.

It remains to show how these changes in the great world were reflected in the literature of educational reform, which also put in a timely appearance. As early as 1612 Ratichius started on his pilgrimage through German lands as the apostle of his "new method of teaching." His gospel found a ready response at several courts, especially in Saxony and Anhalt, and also in a number of towns and academies, an unmistakable symptom that the older educational ideal of Melanchthon's times was losing its reputation. But this restless, irritable and impetuous man was as unsuccessful in retaining his hold on his hearers as in keeping up the reform school placed at his disposal by Prince Lewis of Coethen. The movement,

Educational Reformers; Ratichius.

however, which he inaugurated remained in existence, particularly in Weimar and Gotha. He was followed by Comenius. Comenius. (1592-1671), whose activity covered a much wider field, starting from Bohemia and soon reaching Poland, Prussia, Sweden, England and Hungary, leaving everywhere traces of its influence in the pedagogic literature, here and there also in educational institutions and the method of teaching. I will not speak here of the events of his life nor of his activity, literary and otherwise, nor will I mention any further names of educational reformers (a numerous class of writers in the seventeenth century), but will content myself with giving a brief outline of the nature of their work. In this there are to be discerned three principal tendencies, the bearing of which on the more general movements in the intellectual world, as just described, will be easily recognised.

Their
demands.

The first of these tendencies may be indicated by the party-cry of Realism *versus* Verbalism. The reformers were unanimous in blaming the humanistic schools for laying a one-sided stress on the teaching of languages, complaining that the time and energy spent on the words left no room for the things themselves! Knowledge of things, they argued, was the only knowledge which had any immediate value, whereas the value of a knowledge of words was indirect and secondary. As Leibnitz said, no one's knowledge was increased by his being able to express the same idea in three different languages! Schools, therefore, which did not go beyond the teaching of languages could not but miss their true object. For their true goal was not eloquence, but sapience, *i.e.*, knowledge about the existing world of matter and mind; and it was with a view to the ultimate attainment of a broad and encyclopaedic culture,

embracing all the sciences, that the course of instruction at school should be framed.

Another fundamental idea of the movement was that antiquity was overrated at the expense of the present. The course of instruction adopted by the schools remained based on the assumption, which might have been tenable up to the end of the Middle Ages, that classical antiquity alone had brought forth true philosophy and science; and the natural consequence of this was to give the study of languages a position of priority. But civilisation had advanced since then, and the educational reformers might have said, like Bacon, whose writings they held in high esteem: As far as real knowledge is concerned we are the classics ourselves, having surpassed the ancients by wider experience and profounder thinking. The access to real knowledge, therefore, no longer depends on the acquisition of the old languages in the same sense as before, since the sciences can be taught in any language. Besides, they might have added, we are superior to the ancients in another respect, we have the true religion. The Holy Scriptures being accessible to us, why should we trouble in our schools about myths told by pagan poets or books written by philosophers "who knew not God"? The seventeenth century was, without exception, more alive to the pagan character of classical antiquity than the sixteenth century, which had in this respect continued to be largely under the influence of the Renaissance.

The third and last charge took exception to the faulty method of linguistic instruction. Foreign languages, and especially the classical languages, it was admitted, could not be dispensed with altogether, but it was urged that they should be taught in a different way. As matters stood, ten years or more

were devoted to Latin alone, with the addition of a little Greek, and, in the end, the boys were far from mastering the language. Any camp follower, it was pointed out, tramping with the army into foreign lands, picked up enough in the course of a few months, without trouble or instruction, to express himself fluently in several foreign tongues. The unsatisfactory results of the teaching of languages at school could therefore only be accounted for by a wrong method, and was it so difficult to see the reason? Latin was not taught, as it ought to have been, by its practical use, but by grammatical instruction. The grammatical rules, moreover, having to be learned, foolishly enough, in the Latin language, were not half understood. This method the reformers wished to see replaced by another less unnatural. The instruction was to begin not with rules, abstractions and isolated words, but with the practical use of the language, either with some classical author, as Ratichius recommended, or with short sentences and conversations, as Comenius preferred, and the translation into the mother tongue was to be added. Once ear and tongue had accustomed themselves to the strange sounds, and their meaning had been grasped, it would be much easier to comprehend the grammatical rules, which then would fall, as it were, like seed on prepared ground. The "inductive" method, proceeding from concrete instances to general rules, was the natural method here no less than elsewhere. The reformers further recommended that the general rules of grammar and style should be first taught with reference to the mother tongue, and not until afterwards in their application to a foreign language. Their fundamental demand was, in short, that teaching should begin with the mother tongue and not with Latin,

The 17th and 18th Centuries III

as was the traditional usage of the schools. Difficulties should not be augmented beyond need, least of all in the beginning, and therefore reading, writing and speaking should be taught in the mother tongue before they were taught in any other.

Such were the principal demands of the reformers. Traces of their influence are to be found in some of the School Regulations which were issued not long afterwards, *e.g.*, those for Hesse (1618) and Weimar (1619). But in the actual practice of the schools, owing to the great power of inertia, concessions were made but slowly. Probably, it must be said that, as far as the dead languages are concerned, the "natural" method of teaching, which has so often been demanded and attempted since those days, has its peculiar difficulties. The practical use of Latin during the Middle Ages was perhaps a nearer approach than any later attempt; but then, this practice led to Latin being treated as a living language and as subject to variation. Classical Latin, however—a purely literary language, a language, moreover, with all its values rigidly fixed and belonging to a far past—must always present great obstacles to any attempt at "natural" methods of teaching.

CHAPTER II

THE PERMEATION OF EDUCATION BY MODERN TENDENCIES

I. THE "RITTER-AKADEMIEN"

Survey of
the various
establish-
ments.

THE "*Ritter-Akademien*" were a new and peculiar product of the educational development of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their object was to provide an aristocratic education for the sons of the nobility, including even the princes of the reigning houses, with a view to preparing them especially for military and civil service. The beginnings of these institutions take us back to the end of the sixteenth century, the *Collegium Illustre* of Tübingen (1589) and the *Collegium Mauritianum* of Cassel (1599) being the earliest of their kind. After the Peace of Westphalia they became more numerous, new foundations being made in the following towns: Colberg (1653), Lüneburg (1655), Halle (1680), Wolfenbüttel (1687), Erlangen (1699), Brandenburg (1704), Berlin (1705—this institution was reorganised by Frederick the Great as "*Académie des Nobles*" in 1765), Liegnitz (1708), Ettal (1711), Hildburghausen (1714), Brunswick (1745) and Vienna (1746). The last of all was the "*Hohe Karls-Schule*" of Stuttgart (1775); but, like the "*Karolinum*" of Brunswick (just mentioned), it differed in important respects from the older foundations. As a class, these aristocratic institutions disappeared in the nineteenth century; individually, most of them had

only a short existence: some were turned into purely military schools (*Kadetten-Anstalten*), while those of Halle and Erlangen were transformed into universities.

In the rise and decline of the “*Ritter-Akademien*” may be seen a reflection of contemporary changes in the social order. In the sixteenth century the higher schools were frequented by the sons of the nobility side by side with those of the bourgeoisie, at that time still at the height of its wealth and power. In the seventeenth century these classes began to fall apart from each other. The great war brought the cities and the bourgeoisie to the brink of ruin, whilst it enhanced the prestige of the princes and of the nobility who filled high positions at court and in the army. The separation of these classes in social life led to their being also separated at school. The sons of the nobility now withdrew from the old grammar schools. They were either instructed at home by private tutors—a practice which soon became general, theological students being everywhere numerous and cheap—or (as was the case particularly in Germany, so superabundantly provided with courts and princes and all the grades of nobility) separate schools were established for the youth of the aristocracy, who preserved also in social life a more exclusive attitude in Germany than anywhere else. Indeed, in 1672, the knighthood of Saxony proposed to introduce the practice of christening in private, on the ground that it was “degrading for a child of good birth to be baptised with the same water that had been used for common children!” The interests of the new autocracy pointed in the same direction, since, as has been pointed out, the schools for noblemen—particularly those founded during the eighteenth century—were essentially institutions

Social changes which led to their foundation.

for the training of officials for the higher posts in the military and civil service.

Their decline in the nineteenth century.

In the nineteenth century the *Ritter-Akademien* died out. The nobility had lost their exclusive privileges in State and Society, whilst the middle classes, recovering some of their former influence by education and increasing prosperity, had regained the social right of intermarriage and intercourse as well as legal parity in the civil and, to a certain degree, even in the military service of the State. The sons of the nobility now returned to the higher schools, frequented also by the burgher class, and the course of studies, provided by the "Gymnasien" and the universities, became an indispensable preliminary condition of every higher appointment, at least in the civil service, while even the military education of the future officers in the *Kadetten-Anstalten* was shaped more or less after the model of the *Realgymnasien*.

Subjects of instruction.

The general character of the *Ritter-Akademien* was determined by the object they were intended to serve. They were destined to provide the new aristocracy with a polite modern education, such as was appropriate to their position, thus realising the new educational ideal of the *galant-homme*. The instruction in modern languages and sciences occupied the first place. Some knowledge of Latin had, of course, not yet become quite superfluous for a gentleman of quality; but he certainly could do without Latin composition in prose and verse, as being no longer of any use at court or in public life. On the other hand it was indispensable that he should master the French language, and desirable that he should understand Italian and perhaps Spanish, or, later on, English. As to the instruction in sciences, the days of scholastic philosophy were

over; it was no longer considered of any account in the great world. Mathematics and natural science, on the other hand, were of essential value, not only in themselves, but also in their significance as foundations of a new philosophy and general view of the world and no less in their application to the technical arts of war and peace, such as fortification, architecture, mechanics, etc. This new education, providing as it did for the requirements of modern public life, further included German history, legal history, politics and geography; the genealogy of the ruling houses, heraldry and similar subjects, were also deemed useful arts for the future courtier. Some information about public and private law, moral philosophy, and the law of Nature completed the education of the modern man of the world.

A prominent place was also given to the “*Exercitia*”—chivalric and courtly arts, such as riding, vaulting, fencing, dancing, tennis. The prospectuses and programmes of the various establishments laid great stress on these subjects, and the respective courts placed their stables and drill-masters at the disposal of the pupils. If a court had its residence in the same town a prospect was sometimes held out of some intercourse with court society as an opportunity for acquiring court manners and elegant deportment from the best models. At the same time the future officer and cavalier thus had a chance of finding protectors, influential friends and aristocratic connections—in short, all that was necessary for his welfare and advancement.

This short description of the *Ritter-Akademien* may serve to indicate their modern character and utilitarian aims. The secondary schools of the nineteenth century have adopted some of the subjects first introduced by them, above all the physical exercises,

Games
and sports.

Influence
of the
*Ritter-
Akade-
mien.*

which were quite unknown in the old grammar schools, and the modern languages and sciences, which were first included in the curriculum of the grammar school in the eighteenth and became gradually recognised as subjects of the same importance as the old languages during the nineteenth century. But the educational activity of the *Ritter-Akademien* was not restricted to the intellectual sphere. Like the old territorial schools, which they also resembled in that they were boarding-schools, they were, above all, institutions for the moral training of youth during their riper years. Had they been preserved and adapted to altered conditions and circumstances, had their doors been opened to the middle classes, they might have been developed into institutions filling the same place in Germany as the colleges in America. Representing a transition stage between the school and the university they might have provided a sound introduction to science and philosophy, whilst affording at the same time a broader and freer social training for the well-to-do and cultured classes.

II. THE UNIVERSITIES

Rapid
progress.

At the end of the seventeenth century the reputation of the universities in Germany as in other countries had fallen to a very low ebb. They were regarded by that age of courtly culture as obsolete and dying institutions. Vigorous personalities like Leibnitz, and also Lessing, kept away from them. By the end of the eighteenth century the universities had gained the leading position in the German world of intellect and science. The nature of this great

change and of its causes must now be briefly indicated.

The new development originated in two new universities, those of Halle (1694) and Göttingen (1737), which were soon followed by that of Erlangen (1743). The university of Halle, the new foundation of the rising state of Brandenburg-Prussia, was the first modern university, *i.e.*, the first university in the modern sense of the word, not only in Germany, but in Europe. The claim of Halle to this distinction lies in two main features. Firstly, it assimilated modern philosophy and science; and secondly, it was based on a new formal principle, that of freedom of thought and teaching. Until then, at the Protestant no less than at the Roman Catholic universities, the principle of an approved doctrine had prevailed, which the professors pledged themselves to hand down unaltered; this was the case above all in theology and philosophy, but also in law and medicine. In Halle, however, the principle of the *Libertas philosophandi* had obtained from the first; modern philosophy and science made their entry not in the shape of an officially established system of doctrine, but as conveying the principle of free thought and research. This completely changed the character of the university. It ceased to be a school of traditional doctrine and became the workshop of original scientific research and the pioneer of truth, taking the lead in the whole domain of intellectual life.

The first teacher—one might say the intellectual founder of the new university—was Chr. Thomasius, that great hater of scholastic philosophy and “pedantic” scholarship, a thoroughly modern man, and the first great representative of “Enlightenment,” who occupied a university chair. At Leipzig, where he was born in 1655 as the son of a professor,

(a) HALLE. Modern philosophy and freedom of thought and teaching.

Thomasius.

he made his position as academical teacher impossible by his constant onslaughts on received opinions and time-honoured pedantries. Driven out by abuse and persecution he betook himself to Halle in 1690, almost as a fugitive, and set up as a private lecturer. It was his activity in this quality which led to the foundation of the university (1694), at which he afterwards taught philosophy and German oratory, jurisprudence and natural law. All his endeavours had the one object of breaking the paralysing spell of the caste-like seclusion maintained by the scholars of the older generation, of bringing science and the universities into the closest connection with the actualities of life, of filling the minds of students with enlightened ideas and useful knowledge in place of the old petrified erudition, antiquarian and antiquated. Hence the adoption of the German language in university lectures and scientific literature; it was necessary to break down the wall with which pedantic and arrogant scholars had surrounded themselves, that Latin wall behind which intellectual sterility and practical incompetence sought and found shelter. Frederick the Great spoke highly of Thomasius, mentioning him side by side with Leibnitz. In his opinion these were the two men who, of all the moderns, had done most for the enlightenment and education of the German people.

Francke.

During almost the whole time of his professorship at Halle Thomasius had a colleague in A. H. Francke, who was of an opposite turn of mind, but still in some respects a congenial spirit. Born at Lübeck (1663) and brought up and educated at the school of Gotha, he held a professorship at Halle from 1691 until his death in 1727, first of Oriental languages and then of theology. It was he who introduced Pietistic theology into the teaching of the German

universities, a theology which, contrary to, and, at the beginning, in open strife with the old militant orthodoxy, laid the principal stress on the subjective aspect of religion, on the working of salvation in the human soul, on religion in the form of a religious life, on the *praxis Christianismi*. Moreover, in founding and governing the orphanage at Halle, as well as the various educational institutions connected with it, and in organising the *Seminarium Praeceptorum*, he played another part of the most immediate and momentous importance in the history of education. While Thomasius imbued the lawyers and officials of the young Prussian state with the spirit of modern enlightenment, the ascendancy of which found a visible expression in the access of Frederick the Great, Francke imbued the preachers and teachers of Northern Germany with the spirit of practical Christianity, quickening their interest in the training of youth and furnishing them with new methodical helps for the purposes of instruction.

A third member of the university was Christian Wolff. Wolff, who was born in 1679. He lectured on mathematics, physics and philosophy, mostly at Halle, *i.e.*, with the exception of the years from 1723 to 1740, which he spent at Marburg. He was the first to found a system of modern philosophy, as based on mathematics and natural science, which lent itself to academical teaching; he and his pupils dominated the German universities and German education in general for over half a century, until Kant's philosophy carried the day. The fundamental principle of this new academical philosophy was identical with the maxim of all consistent rationalism "Nothing without sufficient reason!" Nothing happens without sufficient reason, for the law of causality governs all existence, and nothing is valid

without sufficient reason, for logical demonstration governs all true knowledge.

Rational-
ism.

In this way Halle became the first home of academical freedom and at the same time the stronghold of rationalism—first of philosophical, and later on, during the latter part of the century, also of theological rationalism. The foundation of this university symbolised the alliance of the Prussian State with the powers of intellectual progress—an alliance which was contracted with a clear consciousness of its significance. For the Prussian university at Halle was founded in avowed opposition to the neighbouring Saxon universities at Wittenberg and Leipsic, which were highly conservative and strictly Lutheran. Even if we did not know this from other sources its adversaries would not leave us in doubt. A saying then much in vogue ran thus: "*Halam tendis? aut pietista aut atheista reversurus!*" "You are bound for Halle? You will come back a Pietist or an Atheist!"

(b) GÖT-
TINGEN.

In the course of the eighteenth century this new university became the leading university on German soil, gradually forcing its own character upon the others. This development was furthered by the fact that Hanover (the second in importance of the North German states and connected with England through the person of its ruler) also established a new university, on the lines followed by Prussia. The university of Göttingen, founded in 1737, was at the same time an offshoot and a rival of the university of Halle. Modern science and philosophy, liberal theology and freedom of thought and teaching were now already regarded almost as a matter of course—so rapid was the progress of the new movement. The particular merit of the new university was that, at Göttingen, scientific research in the proper sense

Compari-
son with
Halle.

was encouraged and fostered in all possible ways, above all, by the establishment of a library liberally administrated and, for those days, magnificently equipped, and further by the foundation of institutes devoted to the study of the natural and medical sciences. Amongst the subjects that flourished most at Göttingen the historical sciences, and more particularly the juristic and political sciences, occupied the first place. The faculty of Law here maintained a predominance which, at Halle, belonged to that of theology. During the second half of the century Göttingen became the favourite university of the whole German aristocracy, who went there to be initiated in the juristic and political sciences and at the same time to acquire polite and elegant accomplishments. The professors of Göttingen, fully alive to their own dignity and to the importance of their mission, enjoying a considerable income and high-sounding titles, and also distinguished not a little by their connection with a foreign court, materially assisted in that great change by which the unworldly and "pedantic" scholar and teacher of the seventeenth century was transformed into the well-bred man of the world, counting himself among the upper classes, and almost considering himself above teaching, who, in our own days, is known as "university professor and *Geheimrat* (privy councillor)." It is worthy of notice that, at Göttingen, the study of the classics, which remained in a very backward state at Halle, received a fresh impetus. Their representatives, J. M. Gesner, and above all Chr. G. Heyne (1729-1812, at Göttingen since 1763), succeeded in investing them with a new significance by abandoning the exercises in Latin composition on Ciceronian models, as favoured by the older Humanists, and adopting the

Classical studies.

Gesner and Heyne.

methods of Neo-Humanism, which directed its efforts towards the æsthetic and literary criticism as well as the historical study of the ancients. Heyne's lectures were attended by members of all faculties who valued intellectual refinement. The establishment of a philological *Seminar* was another important development under the administration of Heyne; it almost became a training-college which supplied the whole of Northern Germany with higher teachers.

Influence
of Halle
and Göt-
tingen.

By the end of the eighteenth century all the German universities had been reshaped after the model of Halle and Göttingen, not only the Protestant but also the Roman Catholic universities; indeed, all German territories that still adhered to the Catholic faith took great pains in this age of enlightenment to come up to the superior level in matters of education which had been attained by their Protestant neighbours. The results of this whole transformation may be summarised under the following heads.

(1) The spirit of modern philosophy and science had invaded the teaching in all faculties, first of all in that of Philosophy, which, for that reason, gained the leading position during this period, having been hitherto regarded as "the lower faculty."

(2) The principle of freedom both in research and in teaching was generally accepted and—apart from occasional relapses—recognised by the Governments as the fundamental law of the university.

(3) Essential changes had taken place in the method of academic teaching. The old *lectio*, *i.e.*, the interpretation of standard text-books, had been replaced by the modern lecture, *i.e.*, the systematic presentation of a science, as was inevitable once the professors took up original scientific research. The traditional disputations were also dying out. Their

place was taken more and more by the *Seminar* connected with the various branches of learning, which did not aim, like the disputations, at the consolidation of a canon of established truths—for such a canon was no longer in existence, least of all in philosophy—but at an introduction to the independent pursuit of learned studies, and, in the last resort, to original research.

(4) The university lectures were generally delivered in German, as was inevitable, since they had assumed the character of free personal communications on the part of the professor. The only exceptions were to be found in philosophical lectures and exercises, in which Latin was still adhered to here and there, and, of course, in the theological faculty of Roman Catholic universities, since Latin continued to be the language of the international Church.

(5) The study of the Classics everywhere ceased to aim at original literary production; the Neo-Latin literature had died out, and its place was taken by the study of the ancients in the sense of Neo-Humanism, which sought to penetrate into the spirit of antiquity with the aim of furthering human culture.

This permeation of the German universities by the new spirit helped them more than anything else in attaining that prominent position in intellectual and public life which they have ever since enjoyed. At the very time when the French nation had, in the course of the Revolution, entirely abolished its universities, and when the English universities were looked upon as antiquated and obsolete institutions, hardly fit for any higher function than the further schooling of youth, the German people were hopefully looking up to their universities and waiting to receive impulse and direction from them not only in all

questions of science or philosophy, but even in the great issues of national life.

Academies
and
learned
societies.

The attitude of the German universities towards the learned academies and societies forms another characteristic feature. In France and England scientific research was entirely taken over from the universities by the new academies which had been founded by the two courts during the seventeenth century, the "Royal Society" and the "*Académie Royale*," and this state of things has, on the whole, remained unaltered to this day, for in those two countries the universities are not the adequate representatives of national learning. In Germany academies were founded as they were elsewhere, the most important being that of Berlin, which was established in 1700 through Leibnitz's untiring zeal. But they never gained the same influence as those in Western Europe. The highest seat of learning in Prussia was not the Academy of Berlin but the university of Halle, although the former was favoured with the most active support and even the personal participation of rulers like Frederick the Great, whereas the latter, depending on a most inadequate endowment, enjoyed, like the other universities of the kingdom, only a very grudging measure of the royal favour. As to Göttingen, since the court of Hanover resided in London, the "Society of Sciences" was from the first a mere annex to the university. And on this same basis rests at present the existence and also the success of all German academies. While the universities are the real representatives of research and learning, the academies may be described as committees elected from the body of university teachers for special branches of scientific work.

III. THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The schools clung to the old methods with greater tenacity than the universities and were slower in abandoning them. For obvious reasons they have always been considerably later in following the general drift of progress. In some institutions, however, the first signs of the approaching modernisation were early discernible. I could not, even if I wished, enter here into a detailed account of the innovations made here or there as early as in the second half of the seventeenth century by some enlightened prince under the influence of the educational reformers, or by some headmaster or town-council striving to keep abreast with the practical needs of the time. The small Thuringian states in the heart of Germany were pre-eminent in this respect. A very wide influence soon began to emanate from the institutions founded by Francke at Halle. He had been prepared for the university at the school of Gotha, which Ernest the Pious had thrown open, like the other schools of his Duchy, to the "new method of teaching," as advocated by Ratichius, the didactic reformer.

FIRST
PERIOD.
1648-1740.
Path-
finders.

The *Paedagogium* of Halle, a boarding-school for boys of the upper classes, which was placed on the footing of a royal institution in 1702, will serve as a typical illustration of the state of education during this transition period. The old course of instruction was still maintained, but new elements had been added to it. The main subject was Latin, taught with the old aim at complete mastery of the language for conversational and literary use. Some slight changes, however, were to be noted in the method of teaching. Reading and writing were first taught

The
*Paeda-
gogium* of
Halle.

Latin.

in German, while the general rules of grammar, the use of the various parts of speech and their inflections, were also first practised in the German language with the aid of object-lessons, the intuitive method of teaching being an ideal pursued by the Halle pedagogues wherever it was possible. The text-books in use for the teaching of Latin grammar—an earlier one by Cellarius and a later one by J. Lange—were likewise written in German. At the beginning of each lesson the pupils were made acquainted with the subject-matter treated of by the author who was being read; then the teacher gave a verbal translation, which the pupils had to repeat after him; and finally, grammatical forms were analysed and constructed. All this shows the influence of the “new method” of Ratichius, although subjected to sensible modifications. In the upper stage Latin epistles and orations were not only composed but also publicly delivered; disputations were held in Latin, and the learned periodicals, written in Latin, were read and discoursed upon. Latin was also the language of instruction and conversation. In Greek and Hebrew the New and Old Testament were used as reading-books; the method of instruction was similar to that pursued in regard to Latin, with the one exception that in these languages composition did not come within the scope of teaching.

Greek,
Hebrew.

To the classical were now added the modern languages, French and German. The object of the instruction in German was “to make the pupils proficient in writing an elegant German *stilum*”; accordingly, a brief instruction was given in the art of oratory, which was afterwards practised, with exercises in invention and disposition and also in declamation, “in order that all that appertaineth to action and pronunciation be duly set forth and

German.

observed." No mention is made of German literature. In French, too, what was aimed at was French. not an introduction to French literature, but merely the acquisition of the language. Here again the New Testament was used as reading matter, its content being already familiar to the pupils; at the same time French conversation was practised assiduously. All this, however, was subject to the general rule that no more than three subjects should be taken up simultaneously, and that no fresh subject should be started until the one taken up before had been mastered. Of languages, therefore, only two were to be taught side by side, Latin and Greek or Hebrew or French, "that no one be overburdened with work nor confounded by the multitude of subjects, but rather the little that is attempted be treated the more thoroughly and accomplished the more speedily."

As to sciences, the subjects taught were mathe- Sciences. matics and natural science, history and geography; stress being laid, in all cases, on the use of object-lessons and on practical applications. Thus we find, in the case of geometry, that "practice in the open field" was "to be added as soon as possible"; in arithmetic, to give only one instance, the fractions were presented *in vivo* (i.e., in concrete examples). In summer botany was to be taught, either in the country or in the herbarium (*Hortus Medicus*), in winter anatomy, with the aid of engravings and "also now and then on the body of a dog." The pupils were further taken to see artisans at work, in order to gain clear ideas of the products of human art and their manufacture, which afforded at the same time an opportunity for teaching them the Latin names of everything they saw. It should be added that facilities were provided for manual training in turnery,

glass-grinding, wood-sawing, etc. The instruction in history comprised biblical and ecclesiastical history, but also the history of the German Emperors and of the modern States; pictures were employed to assist the memory, and maps were freely used. Geography was treated exclusively as an auxiliary subject in connection with history and politics. This part of the instruction was based on the text-books by Johann Hübner, which aimed at committing the subject-matter to memory by questions and answers in catechetical form.

Religious
instruc-
tion.

Paramount importance was attached, throughout the whole course, to religious instruction, which was likewise adapted to practical ends, the real aim of the whole tuition at Halle being to impart a living knowledge of God, of the misery of human sin, and of the salvation in Christ. In the upper stage the instruction led up to a course of theology, during which the principal tenets of Christian dogma were presented (in Breithaupt's manual). It was this religious element which contributed more than anything else to the general victory of the ideas of the Halle pedagogues; the influence of this Pietistic religious instruction may be traced in numerous School Regulations. Afterwards, a reaction set in; the generation which had been fed on religious revivals and prayers was peculiarly appreciative of the invectives of Voltaire—the age of Pietism was followed by the age of Enlightenment!

Arrange-
ment of
classes.

Another innovation deserves notice; the rigid old system of classes had been abandoned, the students being grouped differently in regard to the various subjects of instruction, according to their progress in each individual subject.

Influence.

Thus, the *Paedagogium* of Halle attempted to combine the old classical course with the elements

of modern languages and sciences. It may be regarded as typical of the general aims of all the larger schools during the first half of the eighteenth century. Above all, French and mathematics had been introduced, we may assume, at all the more important institutions—not as a rule, it is true, as essential and obligatory subjects, but rather in the form of private lessons, for which separate payment had to be made. The great masses of smaller grammar schools, on the other hand, were probably hardly reached as yet by these influences; with them Latin grammar and composition remained the one and all-important subject.

The accession of Frederick the Great marks the beginning of a new era, the age of Enlightenment. It was an era of rapid progress, on the part of the German people, towards intellectual liberty and independence; in every sphere of its activity the inner life of the nation gained a new and richer content. As a philosophic interpretation of the universe the text-books of Wolff gained an unrestricted prevalence, and the spirit of his philosophy pervaded all branches of learning—especially theology and the political sciences. From about 1760 onward the deeper ideas of Leibnitz began to force their way through the surface of the Wolffian metaphysic. German literature emancipated itself from the imitation of French classicalism; poetical fire and vigour were imparted to it by Klopstock and Lessing. Winckelmann proclaimed and interpreted the noble beauty of Greek art, whilst Herder and Goethe taught men to appreciate in literature the power of the irrational creative impulse, the instinctive genius of nations and of individuals. Neo-Humanism with its worship of the Greeks rose on the intellectual horizon as a new power. New educational ideas and

SECOND
PERIOD.
1740-1800.
Frederick
the Great
"Aufklär-
ung."

ideals found enthusiastic propagators. All these forces could not but leave their traces on the schools. The sweeping reorganisation of the secondary schools which they ultimately brought about did not take place, it is true, until the following century. But in some respects they led the activity of the schools into new channels even as early as the second half of the eighteenth century.

New
Ascend-
ency of
Greek.

In the first place the endeavours of Gesner and Heyne at their philological *Seminar* in Göttingen had the result that the study of Greek was taken up with renewed energy, not only at the universities, but also at the schools. The age of Utilitarianism, Realism and Pietism had held it only in very moderate esteem; indeed, had Greek not been safeguarded by its importance for Protestant theology it would probably have been dropped altogether. The rise of Neo-Humanism inaugurated a new valuation of things, which was furthered by the new outburst of poetic inspiration no less than by the new educational ideas of Rousseau. It was felt that there are higher interests than those of general utility, that "humanity" and a liberal education of the intellect are of absolute value in themselves. And in that respect nothing was considered of greater importance than a knowledge of Greek and some familiarity with Greek literature. It seemed impossible that any education which aimed at imparting the highest culture could dispense with the Greek language. The School Regulations for Brunswick-Lüneburg of 1737, which were amongst the most important and elaborate issued in any part of Germany for the higher schools, were the first to lay renewed stress on Greek. "If any one be destined for a studious career, let him not shirk his Greek lessons, inasmuch as he would thereby himself suffer irretrievable

loss. . . . Whoever takes pleasure in study of any kind cannot provide better for his future delectation than by acquiring some mastery of this language. . . . From that source the old Romans derived most of their wisdom and learning, but hardly even a trifling part of those treasures was incorporated in their extant writings. . . . He who reads the classic writers, studying mathematical reasoning at the same time, trains his mind to distinguish what is true or false, beautiful or unsightly, fills his memory with manifold fine thoughts, attains skill in grasping the ideas of others as well as in fluently expressing his own, acquires a number of excellent maxims for the improvement of the understanding and the will, and thus learns by practice nearly all that a good compendium of philosophy could teach him in systematic order and dogmatic form." These are, in a few words, the ideas which we hear again and again during the following years, and which led to the Greek authors being re-introduced into schools. Homer and Hesiod were mentioned in the Brunswick Regulations side by side with Gesner's *Chrestomathy*. Euripides and Sophocles, Plato and Demosthenes, were added to the course of the Territorial Schools by the Regulations issued for the Electorate of Saxony in 1773, of which Ernesti was the author. The gnomic writings of dubious origin, which had formerly been used exclusively for the instruction in Greek besides the New Testament, were now supplanted by the Greek Classics.

These changes also affected the method of teaching languages. Ernesti recommended that, hand in hand with the careful and minute (or, as he termed it, the "statary") reading of the various authors should go a "cursory" reading, the former having language and style in view, the latter being directed

New
methods of
linguistic
instruc-
tion.

towards the subject-matter treated of. The last-mentioned School Regulations further set an hour aside for the history of classical literature, and, what deserves particular notice, they found room not only for the German "*stilus*" but also for German literature! "The best works of the national writers," they ruled, "shall be read diligently, and attention shall be drawn to what is or is not considered elegant in diction, and to the proper use of words and phrases." Ernesti's *Initia* were recommended for instruction in philosophy.

Prussia.

In Prussia these influences may be traced in the reforms inaugurated by Baron von Zedlitz, who was minister of public instruction under Frederick the Great. Their purport was, quite in accordance with the king's own views, that the works of classical literature, Greek and Roman alike, should be read for the sake of their meaning and substance, and that the intercourse with the most eminent and accomplished men of classical antiquity should exert its educational influence in the domain of philosophy and dialectics as well as of æsthetic and literary culture. It should be added that Zedlitz favoured the ideas of Basedow, the educational reformer; he made it obligatory for the Prussian universities to provide lectures on the theory of education and specially founded the first chair of that science at Halle for Basedow's follower Trapp. Amongst the headmasters who helped to carry his ideas into effect Fr. Gedike of Berlin deserves the first place. Zedlitz also established a central school-board, the "*Oberschulkollegium*," as the highest educational authority below the king, which was a decided advance in the emancipation of educational institutions from the Church. One of the most important steps of this new authority was the institution (in

1788) of a public Leaving Examination (the "*Abiturienten-Examen*") to be held at the classical schools; this measure paved the way for the sharp demarcation of school and university studies which was accomplished during the nineteenth century.

One special merit of the age of Enlightenment cannot be passed over here. It was this age which not only clearly recognised the need of a higher grade school as apart from the classical secondary school—producing a voluminous literature, in which this demand was set forth and defined—but also led the way in calling this new institution into being. Here again the first impetus came from Halle. As early as at the beginning of the eighteenth century Arch-deacon Semler of Halle had made an attempt at setting up such a school or rather courses for the further instruction of adults in mathematics, mechanics, natural knowledge and handicrafts, which did not meet, however, with any lasting success. It was again a former student of Halle, J. J. Hecker, preacher at the Church of the Holy Trinity in Berlin, who now actually called into existence the first institution of this kind which was successful and prosperous, the "*ökonomisch-mathematische Real-schule*," which is still carried on, in a remodelled shape, in its old home in the Kochstrasse. The prospectus issued in 1747 offered (besides elementary religious instruction) German, French and Latin, and further history, geography, geometry, mechanics, architecture and drawing. Various industrial courses were also connected with this school, which soon made progress and was followed by similar foundations in a number of towns. It should be noted that, like the institutions at Halle, it soon began to extend its influence, in the quality of a training-college for teachers, beyond the ranks of its own pupils.

Social
changes.

Here, again, it becomes obvious that the development of educational institutions is determined in its course by the general progress of civilisation and social life. It was the gradual rise of the cities and the trading classes which created the demand for this new type of schools, a course of instruction, that is to say, transcending the scope of the ordinary primary school—not in the direction of classical and university education but in the preparation of the pupils for the actual needs of modern life.

Basedow's
*Philan-
thropi-
num*.

In this connection may be mentioned J. B. Basedow (1724-1780), the leader of the "Philanthropistic" movement. Its principal object was to make room—either by the side of, or in opposition to the antiquated classical studies of the old grammar schools—for an education which was in touch with real life and in accordance with human nature and the spirit of the age, an education which may be described by such terms as modern, realistic, middle-class. Basedow had been professor at the *Ritter-Akademie* of Sorö in Seeland, and the "*Philanthropinum*," which he founded at Dessau (in 1774) with the assistance of Prince Leopold, was a middle-class edition of the *Ritter-Akademie* with a tinge of Rousseau's ideas. The life of the pupils was arranged with a view to conformity with Nature, courtly accomplishments being abandoned. Ambition was called in as the principal aid of education, the rod being replaced by a system of visible rewards for good conduct. The character of the instruction—modern, utilitarian and encyclopædic—is well illustrated by Basedow's *Elementarwerk*, a selection from all the branches of learning for the use of schools. The method of teaching aimed at transforming learning into amusing play, and this was particularly the case in the teaching of languages. French and Latin were

learnt by living use; to begin with, they were used in play, and afterwards, complete mastery was attained by their use as languages of instruction in the sciences, quite in accordance with the ideas of the seventeenth-century reformers. The great expectations, cherished even by judicious men like Zedlitz and Kant in regard to the Dessau establishment, were not fulfilled, at least not directly. After a protracted period of decline the "*Philanthropinum*" came to an end. The reason must be sought partly in Basedow's own incompetence—he was a powerful agitator, who had some skill in the arts of advertisement, but not much in those of the ruler and administrator—but partly also in the rise of Neo-Humanism, the literary leaders of which had nothing but contempt for the "Philanthropinistic" movement, although it was supported by men so little to be despised as the excellent Campe and the "plain-dealing" Salzmann. Even Raumer's *History of Education* still breathes this hatred and humanistic contempt of anything that smacks of "philanthropinism," "realism" and "utilitarianism." Some of the scattered seeds, however, grew up and bore fruit. Above all, it should not be forgotten that the *Philanthropinum* and the institutions which were founded as its off-shoots, amongst others at Schnepfenthal near Gotha, were the first to pay due regard and consideration to physical exercises. Nor can it be said that the efforts to make some room for happiness in school life have left no traces. Compared with the schools of the eighteenth century, which were swayed by the ever-present fear of the rod, the schools of our own days are very "philanthropic" institutions indeed—notwithstanding the unceasing complaints about cruelties and hardships, which seem to fall to the teacher's lot at all times!

IV. THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS

State control and compulsory attendance.

The principal innovation during this period was the taking over of the primary schools from the Church by the State, the compulsory attendance of all children at school being recognised and enforced as a civic duty. Up to the sixteenth century the primary school was little more than an annex of the Church. At the end of the eighteenth century it was, in all German countries, no longer an ecclesiastical but a political institution. The State had assumed full control over the schools, although clergymen continued to be entrusted to a large extent with the exercise of that power in the name of the State. In the sixteenth century school attendance was regarded as a duty towards the Church, being enjoined by visitation charges and admonitions from the pulpit with varying success. At the end of the eighteenth century it was generally acknowledged that education belonged to the sphere of civic duties, which implied an obligation on the part of the community to contribute towards the maintenance of the schools, and an obligation enforced, if necessary, by penalties on the part of the family to see to the attendance of their children.

This principle of compulsory school attendance was proclaimed, as far as I know, for the first time in the School Regulations issued for Weimar in 1619. Clergymen and schoolmasters were requested to provide a register containing the names of all boys and girls between six and twelve years of age "in order that such parents as refuse to send their children to school may be exhorted and, if necessary, compelled by the secular authorities to perform the duties devolving upon them." The pupils were to attend

school without interruption during the whole year, summer and winter, "never missing a single day or even hour, excepting at harvest-time, when they shall have four weeks, and during the wakes or Church festivals, when they shall have a few days' holiday." The famous *Schul-Methodus*, issued by Ernest the Pious of Gotha in 1642, adopted this principle, stipulating that all children should continue their attendance at school from the completion of their fifth year "until they shall have learnt all they ought to know and been pronounced fit for discharge by those in authority." For every lesson from which the children were absent the parents were fined a penny for the first and more for each following offence, up to sixpence. It is probably not wrong to surmise that these Regulations of the pious Duke were the first of all School Regulations that were carried into effect without any very considerable deductions. With untiring energy he personally watched over the educational affairs of his little country, true to his device: "*Princeps otiosus Deo exosus.*"

In the course of the following century all Pro-Prussia. testant territories followed his example in issuing similar regulations, with hardly any exceptions. Particulars are to be found in Vorbaum's *Collection of Protestant School Regulations*. On the whole, the smaller territories led the way, the larger ones being considerably later. I will confine myself here to giving a few details concerning the course of development in Brandenburg-Prussia. Really effective measures were not taken here until the reign of Frederick William I. The good intentions of the Great Elector were thwarted by the dissension between the Protestant and Catholics—the dynasty had adopted the Reformed faith in 1613. His

successor, the first King of Prussia, was too much given to courtly display to care much about the education of the masses. It was quite the other way about with Frederick William I. He took a much greater interest in the lower orders than in learning and education. He was a supporter of Francke, whom he held in high esteem, and his principal object was to make the cardinal truths of Christianity accessible to everybody. But neither did he shut his eyes to the importance of some elementary schooling for the economic proficiency of his subjects and soldiers. It was he who first made school attendance compulsory in Prussia by the rescripts he issued in 1716 and 1717, at the same time placing the schools, especially in the country, on a sound economical basis, as far as lay in his power. A definite stage in the development we are tracing is marked by the General School Regulations ("*General-Land-Schul-Reglement*,") issued by his successor, Frederick the Great, in 1763. In these Regulations it was laid down that compulsory school attendance should begin at the latest with the fifth and last until the thirteenth or fourteenth year, "until they shall not only be well versed in the principal doctrines of Christianity and proficient in reading and writing, but also able to answer questions on the knowledge imparted to them out of the approved manuals of instruction." Absence from school was punished by fines paid into the school-funds. Daily school hours were, as usual, from eight to eleven o'clock in the morning and, with the exception of Wednesdays and Saturdays, from one to four o'clock in the afternoon. The maintenance of the school and the dwelling-house of the teacher went to the account of the parish; for the rest the teacher depended on the school money,

which was assessed at three farthings per week for the A B C class, a penny for those who could read, and three halfpence for those who could read and write; in summer, however, only two-thirds of these charges were to be made. In cases of need they were to be defrayed out of the church offerings or the parish funds. The school inspection was entrusted to the clergyman and the *Superintendent*,* the school to be visited once a year by the latter and twice a week by the former, who had also to confer with the teachers and to give lessons.

For the time being the subjects of instruction remained the same as in the sixteenth century: reading, writing, religious instruction and singing. Arithmetic and various information concerning nature and history were added by slow degrees. Latin, on the other hand, which had been mentioned in the Weimar Regulations of 1619 as being taught in the village schools, was dropped; in the Gotha *Methodus* it was no longer mentioned. In its later editions, however, some instruction was prescribed in natural and historical knowledge for the upper stage, after the pupils had come to the end of all other lessons. Besides arithmetic they were to be taught some geometry and natural history, and something of the institutions of their country, both ecclesiastical and civil, always beginning with what was nearest their interests and what they had before their eyes. In the Prussian Regulations of 1763 the substance of teaching was still restricted to reading, writing, religious instruction, singing and a little arithmetic. Beyond this only a Berlin reading-book was mentioned, giving "general information about God, the world and mankind," together with a small booklet destined for the instruction of village

Subjects
of instruc-
tion.

* See p. 77.

children in various necessary and useful knowledge. Somewhat more was attempted by the School Regulations for the Electorate of Saxony of 1773. Besides arithmetic, which was carried on by the most proficient students up to the rule of three, the more advanced pupils were "to be made acquainted, in an entertaining narrative manner, with the most indispensable and serviceable facts of geography, ecclesiastical and political history (in the first place, of Saxony), with the principal tenets of the Augsburg Confession, with some knowledge about municipal and agricultural affairs, trades and handicrafts, spiritual and secular offices, canon and civil law, and with the use of the calendar, the newspapers and similar things of general usefulness." Modest as sounds this delineation of the general aims there is reason to believe that reality still fell short of it to a very considerable degree. To begin with, the enforcement of compulsory attendance met with serious obstacles, such as poverty, carelessness, indolence, obstinacy on the part of the parents, and also egotism on the part of masters and mistresses. Everywhere we meet with exemptions, one of the most usual being this—that, in summer, school was to be held only on three days each week, and then only during half the day. The collecting of the fines, moreover, must often have presented great difficulties. At the same time it may be assumed that, at the end of this period, there was hardly a child who had received no schooling at all. Internal obstacles, however, had also to be contended with, such as overcrowding of the schools, and, above all, the generally insufficient training of the teachers. No professional education for teachers in the proper sense was yet in existence. Normal Schools or training-colleges ("*Lehrer-Seminare*") were only just appearing here and there

Retarding
influences.

The
teachers.

above the horizon; the Prussian orphanages founded at Königsberg, Züllichau, Stettin, etc., after the model of Halle, and, later on, Hecker's "*Realschule*" (see p. 133) offered facilities of this kind within small limits. In many cases, no doubt, the clergymen devoted themselves to the education of the teachers with unselfish interest; in the Regulations of 1763 the instruction of teachers was made one of their duties. As for the great masses of village schoolmasters, however, the former state of things remained unaltered. They had never learnt anything beyond what they had picked up themselves at some village school or other in their earlier days. In larger villages, where there was a church, the post of schoolmaster was regularly filled by the parish clerk; in the smaller villages by artisans, especially those of sedentary habits, eking out a scanty income, to which they considered it worth while to add the few pence they received as school money. Indeed, as late as 1738, the Prussian country schoolmasters were granted the tailoring monopoly within their respective villages for the improvement of their economical position. Some reading and writing, with the addition, at most, of a little arithmetic, was, of course, all that such men could manage; method of any kind was out of the question. It is not surprising, therefore, that, in many cases, the instruction never went beyond the first rudiments. Even in schools of a little higher standing, especially where the attendance was irregular, many children never achieved anything beyond a little reading and knowing a few things by heart. This state of things is familiar to me, as it still prevailed in the small village school (containing only one class) where I received my first instruction. For not a few of the pupils who attended school only during the winter

months the instruction in reading was never anything else but a torture, protracted through years, from saying the alphabet and formation of syllables to the deciphering of complete words, without any real success in the end, while writing was nothing but a rough and wearisome tracing of the letters, the net result of all the toil being the gabbling of the Catechism and a few Bible texts and hymns, learnt by heart over and over again.

Success of
compul-
sory at-
tendance.

One might well ask: Did it pay to enforce compulsory attendance if that was all the school had to offer? Would the authorities not have been better advised in letting the matter rest with the free choice of the parents if nothing better could be achieved by compulsion? It is not difficult to understand Pestalozzi's wrath in speaking of such compulsory instruction as a murder of the soul if we consider how the natural powers of the body, the senses and the intellect were crippled during the years of imprisonment in the schoolroom in gazing at dead letters and learning formulas by heart that were not even understood. Still, it was the way to further progress, a way which, dark though it was, led towards light. Indeed, it was this very enforcement of compulsory school attendance that awakened a sense of duty in all men of a more susceptible conscience, calling for the reorganisation of the existing arrangements. In filling the schools with pupils the State had taken a duty upon itself which was not to be shirked—the duty of providing teachers who were fitted by professional training to become real educators of the people. For some time to come, it is true, rulers continued to turn a deaf ear to the dictates of this duty. It is well known that Frederick the Great ordered superannuated soldiers to be appointed as schoolmasters, so that neither soldiers

nor schools might cost him anything. If this was the standpoint of Frederick the Great, if he saw a social danger in any education of the country-folk that went beyond the first rudiments, "or else they will run away," he said, "into the towns and become clerks and what not!" it would be unfair to be too hard on the country squires for not being over-zealous as patrons of the village schools, even in discharging their bare liabilities.

It would be ungrateful not to mention in this connection the name of a nobleman in the March of Brandenburg, which stands out as a bright spot in the educational history of Brandenburg-Prussia, the name of Frederick Everard von Rochow of Rekahne near Brandenburg. Feeling it to be the duty of the aristocracy to raise their subjects to a higher standard of living, he took the warmest interest in the improvement of the schools on his estates and furthered it by his personal assistance, liberally providing for teachers and schools, and even writing text-books for the pupils and reading-books for his peasants. Looked at askance by many of his compeers he saw his worth recognised by a man like Baron von Zedlitz, and his schools met with some success in providing an example for others. He also had the principal share in the foundation of the first training-college in the proper sense established in 1778 by the cathedral chapter of Halberstadt, of which he was a member.

F. E. v.
Rochow.

It must not be left unmentioned that, besides the public schools, a very considerable number of private schools was in existence. They were particularly numerous in the towns, where they were not unfrequently persecuted as "hedge schools," but baffled all attempts at extermination, which would seem to prove that there was a demand for them. Some of

Private
schools.

these private enterprises were permanent institutions with a considerable number of pupils, others represented only small circles, called into being by temporary needs, either a tutor (or governess) being engaged conjointly by some families for their children or a few pupils being hunted up by some person in need of a living. We hear numerous complaints about such private schools—on account of the school money of which the public schools were despoiled, or of truants who had absconded from school discipline. Nor were insinuations against the teaching, especially religious instruction, in such “hedge schools” less frequent. As to the teaching itself, it hardly differed from that in the public schools, the teachers being in both cases self-taught and untrained. It was not until the training colleges were fairly started and the public schools in progress of reorganisation that those parasitic growths gradually died out.

This may suffice concerning the development of educational institutions during the eighteenth century.

Other educational influences.

Another factor, however, of great importance, must be mentioned. It was likewise in this period, and more particularly since the middle of the eighteenth century, that a new educational influence of momentous significance began to compete with Church and school—I mean general reading. It was not until then that the German people, *i.e.*, the masses of the lower middle classes, formed the habit of reading for the sake of improving their minds. Hitherto religious books, such as the Holy Scripture, the book of hymns, and collections of sermons, had been read for the sake of religious edification. But now people began to turn to secular books in order to enlighten their understanding, to add to their

knowledge of the world, and to rectify their opinions. Chr. Thomasius was the first of that new class of writers who did not aim at the advancement of learning, nor at religious instruction, but at the general enlightenment of all classes. His *German Monthly Journal* (1688) was the first periodical, as his treatises (also in German) on the philosophical sciences, especially logic and ethics, were the first handbooks "for educated readers of all classes," as publications of that kind would be styled nowadays. Thomasius himself described his *Introduction to the Art of Reasoning* on the title-page as a book "wherein is pointed out, in an easy manner, comprehensible to all reasonable persons, no matter of what class or sex, the method of distinguishing between what is true, probable and false without the aid of syllogistics, and of discovering new truths." Evidently it was altogether the "general," including the "fair," reader whom he had in view, the real object of his book being to encourage the reader not to be overawed by the "pedantic" learning prevailing at the universities, but to confide in his own common sense. In the same track followed Chr. Wolff's *Reasonable Ideas* on the various philosophical sciences, although written in a somewhat more academical spirit, and afterwards, the great number of books about popular philosophy, published during the second half of the century, including the French treatises issued by the Berlin Academy under Frederick the Great. The *Monthly Journal* was soon joined by the so-called "moral" weekly papers. The object of this new class of periodicals, which had been introduced from England *via* Hamburg, was to administer "enlightenment" to the reader in small rations, to ensure its digestibility. At Leipsic, Gottsched—who edited one of these papers—the *Vernünfftige Tadlerinnen*—

started on his fruitful activity with the view to stimulate the production of a German literature in prose and verse. Critical periodicals began to mediate between authors and readers. Haller, Klopstock and Gellert became the favourite writers of the German people. In this way an educated public grew up during the eighteenth century, which followed the movements of the intellectual world with the liveliest interest. To the influence of general reading was added that of the theatre, which was another great educational force, called into being by the age of Enlightenment and made subservient to its pedagogic and moral ideas. For the new stage did not aim at mere amusement; its object was, above all, to improve the morals and the intellect of the attentive spectator, enlightening him about virtue and vice, wisdom and folly, and their consequences. It was also during this period that juvenile literature first made its appearance. All kinds of books for boys and girls (containing instructive and moralising stories, poems, anecdotes and conversations), tales of adventure, and even weekly papers for children—the most successful being Chr. F. Weisse's *Kindersfreund*—saw the light during this didactic age, so happy in the belief that no one having once witnessed effective and pathetic scenes, representing what is good and right, could ever do what is evil and wrong! This age of enlightenment confidently shared the Socratic assurance that no one would err knowingly and willingly, a conviction which was, indeed, the basis of its own ardent and sanguine enthusiasm for anything concerned with the training and education of youth.

V. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC TERRITORIES

The Roman Catholic and Protestant sections of the German people which, after the great schism of the sixteenth century, had pursued their own separate ways found each other again on the common ground of Enlightenment during the second half of the eighteenth century. In the domain of education no less than of philosophy and science, of language and literature, the Roman Catholic territories made great efforts to come up with the advance which their Protestant neighbours had made upon them. It is impossible to enter into details here; I will only give an outline of the course of development in the two leading states. In the territories governed by the Habsburg and Wittelsbach dynasties comprehensive educational reforms, extending from the universities down to the primary schools, were started about the middle of the eighteenth century, in Austria under Maria Theresa, in Bavaria under Maximilian Joseph III., their principal object being everywhere to bring the educational institutions under the control of the State, to secularise and modernise teaching, and to introduce instruction in scientific and historical knowledge.

In Vienna modern science and modern methods were introduced under the superintendence of the Court physician, G. van Swieten, a Dutchman by birth, first in the medical faculty, which was then followed by the others. The secondary schools were the next to be taken in hand. The renown of the Jesuits, who had hitherto occupied the leading position in this department, had long been declining. The aristocracy, who had principally come to them for their education, and who had, during the sixteenth

Austria.

and seventeenth centuries, found here more or less what they required, had become as tired in Austria as elsewhere of logical and metaphysical disputations, of humanistic eloquence and academical poetry. For this reason a younger religious Order, that of the Piarists, who were less averse to meeting the demands of modern times, had established itself in competition with the Jesuits. In 1752 a new Order of Studies was forced upon their institutions, including the German language and the modern sciences in the course of instruction, and placing the schools under the supervision of State officials. When the Order of the Jesuits was suspended in 1773 the property of their colleges was confiscated, to be devoted principally to the reorganisation of the primary schools. The Piarist Marx was the author of the Order of Studies, which was next to be issued (in 1775); he too laid stress on the instruction in German, science and history, and further instituted a Leaving Examination, which was to be the only passport giving access to the studies in the philosophical faculty. The primary schools were reorganised by Abbot Felbiger of Sagan, after the model of Hecker's establishments in Berlin. In his earlier years he had been active as a reformer in Silesia, after it had become Prussian, and had then obtained leave to obey a call from the Empress of Austria, where "General Regulations for Normal, Grammar and Elementary Schools" (*Allgemeine Schulordnung für die deutschen Normal-, Haupt- und Trivialschulen*) were issued in 1774 in accordance with his advice.

Bavaria.

In Bavaria it was a pupil of Chr. Wolff, J. A. Ickstatt, on whose initiative the reorganisation, first of the university of Ingolstadt (1752) and afterwards of the secondary and primary schools, was accomplished, new regulations being issued in 1774, one

year after the suspension of the Order of the Jesuits. Similar efforts carried the day, about the same time, in the large episcopal possessions along the Main and Rhine.

The reforms in the Roman Catholic states were marked by a certain suddenness. Whereas in the Protestant North the progress of things followed a gradual and organic development, in Austria and Bavaria the authorities "decreed Enlightenment!" In many cases a tendency made itself felt towards bureaucratic routine and supervision, which lay heavy on teachers and students alike. There was an impatience to see early fruits, a bigoted utilitarianism manifesting itself particularly in the edicts of Joseph II. All this engendered an inclination towards equally sudden reaction, which made its appearance in Austria under Leopold II., in Bavaria under Charles Theodore, and to which the episode connected with the inglorious name of Frederick William II. furnished a parallel in Protestant Germany.

Distin-
guishing
features of
Catholic
and Pro-
testant
reforms.

EPILOGUE

Three principal tendencies are discernible in the general course of educational development during this whole period—a steady extension of State control, a progressive secularisation and a continuous widening of the whole current. Firstly, the management and supervision of educational institutions were taken over from the Church by the State, which soon began to appoint special officials for the purpose, although, in many cases, clergymen were provisionally left in charge to perform these duties in the name of the State. Secondly, theology ceased to be the dominating influence, the subordination of all

General
tendencies.

teaching to the canon of Church dogma being abandoned. This was most clearly the case at the universities, where modern philosophy and science had completely emancipated themselves from the control of the Church and had assumed the leading *role*. But also in secondary, and even in primary, schools denominational religious instruction had either lost the leading position or at least been compelled, as in the primary schools, to make room by its side for secular subjects. Thirdly, the classes coming under the influence of the educational institutions were ever growing in extent. The general adoption of the German language and the nationalisation of philosophy and literature called into being that broad stratum of the educated middle classes which reads books and periodicals, visits theatres and takes an interest in art and science as well as in public life. The first appearance of woman in society must likewise be mentioned in this connection. The masses also advanced a step, for although many of the primary schools of the eighteenth century hardly deserved the name of educational institutions, compulsory school attendance paved the way for that uplifting of the masses which was accomplished in the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER III

THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—NEW IDEALS

THE aim of the present chapter is to give a somewhat more detailed description of the two great movements which, since the seventh decade of the eighteenth century, gained the control over intellectual life, hitherto exercised by the ideas of the Enlightenment period—Naturalism and Neo-Humanism. We have already met with their influences here and there in the preceding chapter, but their full force did not take effect until the great educational reorganisation took place at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The naturalistic bent of thought and feeling, which A. NATUR-
ALISM. formed such a prominent trait in the mental physiognomy of the last third of the eighteenth century, was inaugurated by Rousseau (1712-1788). Rousseau. Jean Jacque, as his contemporaries are fond of calling him, the citizen of Geneva, was one of the greatest rebels that ever lived. He rebelled against his whole age and all that it regarded as true and great, against its institutions and habits of life, against its ideas and standards of value. The same rebellion was forced upon the reader by his passionate words, breaking forth from the depths of a wounded soul. Everything that met his glance, everything of which his times were proud, filled him with indignation—the court and court life; upper-class society with its luxurious culture and the division of mankind, on which it rested, into the two classes of masters and servants; the free-thinking philosophers and writers

who reviled that society, yet did not disdain to sit down at the same table; the Church, which proclaimed the doctrines of the original depravity of human nature and of a life to come, but had founded on these doctrines a kingdom of earthly rule over human souls and accepted the reward of riches and luxuries for supporting the kingdom of this world. With the whole rebellious pride of the proletarian suddenly aroused to self-consciousness he took his stand against this whole world of glitter and pretence, of superficiality and lies, devoid of any real, genuine, natural worth, such as appeals straight to the human heart and fills it with joy.

So fundamental a readjustment of human values could only have arisen from a strong revulsion of man's inmost nature. This revolt of a deep and passionate heart was directed against the whole principle of modern civilisation, against the prevailing intellectualism, against that absolute rule of the understanding with its calculations and reflections, which culminated in the era of Enlightenment. That understanding aimed at reducing the whole world to concepts and formulæ, in order that it might use these formulæ for the interpretation of reality, distorting or suppressing it wherever it would not fit in. This intellectualistic rationalism, which had no respect for life and Nature, but forced them relentlessly under the yoke of system and formula, was the real enemy against whom Rousseau brought to bear his passionate susceptibility to the realities of life. Till then the modern world had universally accepted the rationalistic view of life; it had regarded the understanding as the supreme power of man, guiding him through science to philosophy and enlightenment, thereby reforming his character and life, and thus leading him to civilisation and happiness. It was

this view against which Rousseau, in his first contribution to literature, hurled his passionate protest; "No! Art and science have not made man any better or more virtuous, nor even any happier! In the state of Nature in which man knew nothing of science, but was guided by instinct and sentiment, he was happier far than with all this so-called civilisation!" It was this note, causing henceforth so strangely contrasting a discord in the jubilant pæans of progress, hitherto so harmonious, it was this negation of the value of thought, science and civilisation which afterwards found its final expression in the pessimism of Schopenhauer.

With such feelings this critic of all recognised standards of civilisation now proceeded to direct his searching glance to the methods of education, and a new flood of protest followed in his *Emile* (1762). Education, such as it is, he insisted, suppresses and subjugates Nature instead of setting it at liberty and making it perfect. Indeed, children are not even allowed to come in contact with Nature, with the world of real things. Almost from infancy they are hampered by concepts and formulæ; learning by rote is the method of instruction, mere erudition its goal. Accomplishments which can be paraded in society, foreign languages and miscellaneous educational gew-gaws, are valued in the schools, whereas nothing is thought of sound judgment and practical wisdom which enable a man to find his proper attitude towards reality and life. Nor can anything better be said about the education of the character. The cultivation of the heart and will, high-mindedness and manly self-assertion, are considered of no account, nothing being coveted and aimed at but correct behaviour—"Conduite" and "*Savoir vivre*." Thus, we find everywhere con- ^{His} *Emile*.

ventional instead of the natural, original and eternal standards of value, outward show and pomp instead of the truth and simplicity of Nature. No wonder that Nature offers resistance to such educational experiments, or that continuous compulsory training has to be resorted to in order to cram the youthful mind with such artificial accomplishments as the ability to rehearse the rules of the Latin grammar by heart, to acquire a smattering of some foreign languages, or to gabble uncomprehended and unintelligible formulæ of some theological system. The moral as well as the intellectual education of the young is made up of coercion and compulsion, of rebukes and punishments, destined to break the natural bent of their will and to hammer into them all manner of conventional propriety and morality, rules of behaviour and conduct in every shape and form.

This is the negative aspect of *Emile*. But it has its positive side as well. Rousseau was not a pessimist; he did not, as Schopenhauer did, look upon civilisation and life entirely as a *faux pas*. In his opinion there is a life which is worth living—not indeed the unworldly life which the Church preaches by word, though not by practice, but the natural and original life, implanted by Nature herself and flourishing in every human being, not spoilt by pseudo-civilisation. There is, however, another kind of civilisation which does not make man bad and unhappy, and which consists in the mere development and perfection of his natural gifts and powers. For this civilisation Rousseau meant to pave the way by his new theory of education and no less by his new theory of politics, published simultaneously under the title *Contrat social*. True education, following the dictates of Nature, does not aim at training the

human mind after a preconceived system nor at drilling man for his position in society, but rather listens to the voice of Nature herself, of Nature, that is to say, as constituting the individuality of the pupil, the trend of which is indicated by the impulsive stirrings of the will. It allows elbow-room for the pupil to exercise his own powers and thus gain experience in the world of matter and mind—the only possible way to attain to effective insight as to the proper attitude towards men and things. Such education only assists the pupil in interpreting his own experiences, warding off, with a gentle hand, such as would be too hard and destructive. No one can acquire either moral or intellectual culture except through his own exertions and experiences. Only what the intellect grasps by its own activity contributes to its cultivation, not what is pressed upon an inactive and indifferent mind from without. Indeed, the principal error of the prevailing system is this very belief that education can be forced on an unwilling mind. Just as nothing turns into organic growth but what is shaped by the inner formative principle, so nothing turns into intellectual growth but what is assimilated by the mind's own powers.

The first maxim of any sound theory of knowledge is correctly laid down here—to observe an expectant attitude until the first instinctive craving for knowledge makes itself felt, and then to use discretion in supplying the mind with suitable materials to exercise its faculties upon. Sensual perception first opens up the child's mind to the external world, the desire to look at things being the earliest manifestation of the intellectual faculty. The educator should gratify that desire by making either the things themselves accessible or their images. But the child does not only want to look at things, it also wants

to take hold of and handle them; and it does not arrive at a full knowledge of their real nature until it finds out what it can do with them. Thus, Emile grows up in the country and playingly acquires practice in all the arts through which man in the state of Nature attains to his first sound knowledge of reality. He does not gather abstract knowledge about things from books and literary sources, but becomes really familiar with their nature and character by coming in contact with them day by day. He is at home in his surroundings without having ever been taught geography; he knows the celestial phenomena by day and night without having ever heard of astronomy and the armillary sphere. In this way the foundation of natural knowledge is laid. Gradually his understanding awakes, *i.e.*, the desire to be acquainted with the causes of the phenomena. Again, it is not for the educator to make him learn by heart the laws of physical science but rather to help him to get behind the facts of Nature for himself. He should first endeavour to make him see the problems inherent in them and then assist him in finding out for himself their hidden connections and in grasping the general law underlying the concrete phenomena. Last of all reason begins to stir in the youthful mind, *i.e.*, the desire to comprehend the whole of things, their meaning and their ultimate causes. Here, again, the pupil should not be asked to learn dogmatic formulæ by heart, but should rather be encouraged in his quest by a personal confession. The confession of faith by the "Savoyard clergyman" does not pretend to give the pupil the only answer to the intimate problems of existence, but only a possible answer. It is an answer which comes straight from the heart of a high-minded man and therefore

goes straight to the heart of the like-minded youth.

This is the new ideal of education: not to train man to be an obedient subject, to behave correctly in society, or to follow blindly the tenets of some ecclesiastical system, but rather to cultivate all that is human in man, to cultivate his full and unfettered individuality by the development of all the powers implanted in him by Nature—in short, to cultivate humanity.

Rousseau exercised an immense influence on his times, and Germany was stirred perhaps even more deeply than France. In France Voltaire continued to be regarded as the great man of his time, whereas, in Germany, his place in the esteem of the younger generation had been taken by the enthusiast of Geneva. Kant, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, Fichte, all of them were roused by Rousseau to the inmost depths of their natures. He gave utterance to the passionate longing of their souls: to do away with the imitation of French courtly culture, by which Nature was suppressed and perverted in every way, to do away with the established political and social order, based on court society and class distinctions, which was felt to be lowering to man in his quality as a reasonable being, and to return to Nature, to simple and unsophisticated habits of life, or rather to find a way through Nature to a better civilisation, which would restore the natural values of life to their rightful place and would be compatible with truth and virtue, sincerity and probity of character.

Kant's ethics was altogether conceived in this spirit, the true worth of man being founded not on learning, polite accomplishments, wit, or any special attainments, but exclusively on a righteous will—a

will obeying the dictates of the moral law with a simple and artless mind, without time-serving and mental reservations. To assist this righteous will, implanted by Nature in every human or reasonable being, in attaining to a clear self-consciousness, to train up free men, espousing the cause of righteousness of their own free will, he regarded as the great goal and the principal task of education.

Herder.

Herder was the connecting link between the naturalism of Rousseau and Neo-Humanism. It was he who opened our eyes to the endless variety of historical life, from the first dawning of the intellect in the sphere of sensual perception to its highest manifestations, who taught us to see in every single form a revelation of the Godhead. To recognise it as such with feelings of piety and joy, and, elated by the "fulness of vision," to uplift one's own individual life and merge it in the life of the Eternal, as incarnated in the history of mankind, is, in his opinion, true culture—the cultivation of humanity. The object of education must therefore be to bring the rising generation into immediate contact with the realities of natural and historical life, thereby awakening and developing their own individual life according to the powers implanted in them by Nature. There is no educational value in formulæ and abstractions, but alone in the fulness of life.

Pestalozzi.

The two men who led the way in applying Rousseau's ideas to educational practice in Germany were Basedow and Pestalozzi. Basedow and his work has already been discussed; but a few words must be said here about Pestalozzi (1746-1827). He was born at Zürich and his whole life and personal activity was confined to Switzerland. He shared Rousseau's warm sympathies for the people and his

aversion to court life. In Rousseau these feelings found vent in torrents of passionate eloquence; in Pestalozzi they bred an ardent, charitable love, eager to help the children of the people, the oppressed and despised children of poverty. To make the rudiments of education and humanity accessible to them was the great endeavour of his whole life. Impelled by this desire he gathered about him at Neuhof numbers of beggar children, to whom he gave employment and instruction, in the hope of making them into useful members of human society. Having failed in these efforts he repeated the same experiment at Stanz, and when he thought he had discovered there the true method of elementary teaching he did not rest until he had put that method to the test at the infant school of Burgdorf, and then practised and further developed it in his establishment at Iferten, labouring on till an advanced age amid difficulties and troubles of all kinds. The leading idea of his method (the most coherent account of which is to be found in his treatise, "How Gertrude teaches her children") was identical with that of Rousseau. The only way to educate human beings is to stimulate the activity of their own individual powers. There is no other way of developing natural gifts or of raising natural faculties to the level of real capabilities than by actual practice and exercise. Looked at from this standpoint his contempt of the schools as he found them seems natural enough. He was never tired of emptying the vials of his wrath over them. He inveighed against the mischievous spelling and learning by heart, which formed the principal substance of all teaching in the primary schools, for having lowered all the Christians of Europe to the level of soulless gabblers and chatterers, such as had never trod the earth before, the use of

the senses and the understanding having been entirely supplanted, as he said, by a senseless use of mere jaw, that cast a blight on the living forces of the mind. On the printing-press he laid the blame for having spread this blind confidence in the dead letter through all classes, and on the Reformation for having encouraged it by introducing the catechism and making it the principal part of elementary teaching. This dull and mechanical learning by rote, with its stultifying effects, Pestalozzi wanted to see replaced by a method of teaching which was based on psychological insight into the mental life of the child and its development, and calculated to awaken its natural faculties and further their organic development. The first law of any such method must be to proceed from the concrete to the abstract. Ideas apart from the experience of the senses are mere words and empty husks, whilst ideas based on things seen and felt are living forces by which things can be grasped. The establishment of this truth was, in his own opinion, the quintessence of his method. He considered it as his principal merit to have made object-lessons the absolute foundation of instruction and thus to have laid bare the primary form of all teaching, *i.e.*, the development of the intellectual faculties out of their germs in sense perception. I will not enter here any further into this intuitive method of teaching (*"Anschauungs-Unterricht"*) as practised by Pestalozzi and as outlined in his treatise, "How Gertrude teaches her children." The essential point lies in binding together the use of words with the actual perception of the object. The comprehension of the forms of things by the eye and the imitative hand is to be made the basis of the comprehension of the sounds by which they are mirrored

in human speech, and upon this are to be based further exercises in grasping their quantities and numbers. When the pupil has gained this elementary grasp of reality as a whole, the scope of instruction may be specialised and a knowledge of Nature and of history, of languages and of mathematics, be acquired by a process of gradual differentiation. The outcome of this methodical procedure of teaching is an education which consists not in dead knowledge mechanically committed to memory but in the formation of the mind as a living force availing itself freely in every sphere of its activity of all the faculties of sense and intellect.

The naturalistic movement, originated by Rousseau, was connected by manifold sympathies and mutual influences with that other great movement by which art and literature as well as the general view of life were deeply affected on all sides and which we are wont to call Neo-Humanism. The combined influences of both movements, supporting and fertilising each other, were also active in the domain of education and determined the scope of the new educational ideal. Their relations to each other may be described as follows. Neo-Humanism rested on the conviction that the true civilisation and education sought after by Rousseau was to be found in full perfection in the Hellenic world. It regarded Greek culture as the consummation and idealisation of Nature and the Hellenic type of man as the full and unrestricted realisation of the idea of human kind as conceived by the creative spirit of Nature. Accordingly it was thought to be the object of education to form the young on the Greek model, in mind and spirit at least, if it could not be done in physique and appearance; to imbue their minds with the Hellenic sentiment, with courage

B. NEO-
HUMAN-
ISM.

Its relation
to Rous-
seau's
naturalism.

and energy to search after truth, with manly will-power to uphold themselves against hostile forces without and within, with an enthusiastic love for all that is beautiful and perfect.

Its relation
to the Re-
naissance.

Neo-Humanism was a renascence, as it were, of the Renaissance, which had been smothered or at least reduced to a bloodless classicism, in Germany as well as Italy, by the Reformation and its counter-movements. Unquestioning submission to classical antiquity as the model of perfection was characteristic of Neo-Humanism as it had been of the Renaissance. At the same time Neo-Humanism was not without peculiar traits of its own, the following being amongst the more important. The eyes of the first Renaissance were directed towards the Roman world, the Augustan age being the great epoch which it sought to revive. The second Renaissance saw the golden age in the glorious days of Athenian art and literature, Athenian philosophy and eloquence. This difference was connected with another, the difference of the historical soil in which the two movements had their roots. The real home of the first Renaissance was Italy, that of the second was Protestant Northern Germany. The former was tinged with a romantic patriotism, aiming as it did at the revival of an ancestral language and civilisation which had been destroyed by the invasion of the barbarians. The latter was based on a purely spiritual relationship. It was a common undertaking in the days of Neo-Humanism to prove this inner relationship between the German and the Greek people, as reflected in their historical destinies, the national existence of either finding its centre not so much, like that of the Romans or the French, in the sphere of political and military achievement as in the ideal world of philosophy and science, of

literature and art. This again points to a third difference. The Italian or Latin Renaissance was bent, above all, upon reviving and continuing the work of the classical writers, the Neo-Latin literature being the fruit of these endeavours. The German or Greek Renaissance was debarred from such designs and had therefore to find another goal for the cultivation of Greek language and literature. Imitation being out of the question, at any rate as far as Greek literature was concerned, it looked for illumination by its spirit and, if possible, by its creative genius, with a view to producing original works of its own which could bear comparison. This again led to the revolution in classical studies which was brought about by Neo-Humanism in the schools. The efforts in Latin imitation, as carried on by the old Humanists, which had long been on the decline, were now abandoned, while the Greek Classics and, along with them, the study of the mother tongue were placed in the forefront.

The high tide of Neo-Humanism reached its cul-
mination about the end of the eighteenth century. Its culmi-
nation.
Goethe and Schiller, having come together on the ground of Neo-Humanism, dominated German literature and imbued it with the belief that the Hellenic world was the highest manifestation of humanity. F. A. Wolf and Wilhelm von Humboldt established this conviction at the German universities and schools, where the ears of the students were re-echoing, throughout the following century, with the thousandfold repetition, in academical speeches, of the same advice: model yourself upon the Greeks.

The three principal causes which helped to bring
about this surprising return to Hellenic classicism Its condi-
tions: re-
ligious ;
are to be found in the general conditions of the times. The first of these was the religious situation. The

old faith was dead, not only belief in the creeds, but Christianity itself. There probably never was an age to which a religion of Redemption was more uncongenial than to the age of Enlightenment. The more determined minds hated it as hostile to culture and education, while the moderates admitted the claims of the "Jewish Rabbi" as an amiable and humane moralist. To this age the Hellenic world seemed to hold out a new religion, a more human religion, which enthroned idealised humanity in the place of the Deity. The study of the Classics now became a kind of cult, regeneration in its old theological sense being supplanted by the conversion to this enthusiastic embracing of all that was Hellenic, which was also looked upon as a new birth, but as a birth to true humanity.

political ; A second cause may be seen in the national feeling. The newly-awakened self-consciousness of the German nation appealed from the French and their pseudo-classicism to the old Greeks as the true classics, as the truly original creators of all the forms of intellectual life which are the common heritage of Western civilisation. The emancipation from the French and the enthusiasm for the Greeks were but two aspects of one and the same phenomenon, as is shown in the case of Lessing. The third cause was furnished by the social changes of the time. The distance between the court and the nobility on one side and the rising middle classes on the other was steadily decreasing; the new literature and philosophy, the sciences and the universities, were penetrated by a popular and liberal spirit. These rising classes now also found allies and supporters in the Greeks in their antagonism to the French courtly culture and education of the German nobility. Here they believed to have found the only true humane educa-

social.

tion, and the real representatives of high breeding were in their eyes not the French, and still less their imitators at first and second-rate German courts, but the Greeks.

In this way the French ideal of the courtier and *galant-homme* was dethroned, towards the end of the age of Enlightenment, by a new ideal of culture and education, the ideal of humanity, as it had become incarnate in the Greeks. Here was a civilisation which was nothing but Nature made perfect, just as Rousseau demanded it. Here were to be found men who were neither puppets, modelled in accordance with a conventional code of society, nor dry-as-dust specialists of their profession, nor slaves of a theological formula, but men whose individuality and character had been developed from within, free men in the true sense of the word, who made their own lives just as a creative genius produces works of art, and who were indeed the first to have brought forth that great work of art—the self-governing community of fellow-citizens. *Kalokagathia*, as the Grecians appositely termed it, was considered as the true and immutable ideal of all human education.

The new
educa-
tional
ideal.

BOOK IV
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I

THE DOMINANT TENDENCIES AND GENERAL CONDITIONS OF THE PERIOD

AT the beginning of the new century the inner life of the German people was dominated by the great and universal revolution of contemporary thought and sentiment which has been called the Romantic movement. "Romanticism" and "Enlightenment" are two extremes which complement each other. Enlightenment, the ultimate outcome of the whole intellectual development since the Renaissance, was based on a purely intellectualistic rationalism, an absolute belief in reason, which took it for granted that reason and science were the only means to raise human existence to a higher level. Romanticism, on the other hand, was anti-intellectualistic; an inclination to the irrational is one of its essential features. In reaction against the overrating of the intellect it set a high value on the irrational side of the inner life: feeling and sentiment, fancy and imagination. It did not look for the creative life-force in the self-conscious activity of the mind but in the deeper instincts of the human heart. This is the explanation of the Romantic love and appreciation of popular poetry and all similar manifestations of the spirit of the people, despised by the age of Enlightenment. It also accounts for the Romantic love and appreciation of the Middle Ages, equally despised during the preceding period. For were not the Middle Ages a period

of fresh and original life, full of the poetic inwardness of the popular instinct? Was not its religion a real world for the faith and the imagination of the believer? Was not the mediæval state as well as mediæval law a world of individual personal relations rather than of abstract general concepts as at present? This further accounts for the Romantic love and appreciation of the older Church. In the eyes of Romanticism religion in the true sense could only be found in Roman Catholicism, not in Protestantism, which seemed to have reached the ultimate goal of its development in the establishment of a "natural religion" condensed into a few abstract philosophical propositions.

This whole movement really originated in the naturalism of Rousseau; but it had a separate and independent starting-point in Germany in the person of Hamann, "Hamann the Incorrect," who hated the age of Enlightenment for its clear and utilitarian ideas, and by whom Herder and Jacobi were influenced. The theologian of Romanticism was Schleiermacher. He insisted that religion had its deepest roots not in the understanding—as was the unanimous opinion of orthodoxy and rationalism, irreconcilable enemies as they were on all other grounds—but in feeling and sentiment. Romantic philosophy was represented by Schelling and Schopenhauer, who dethroned mathematical physics, hitherto regarded as the prototype of all science, to make room for a metaphysics which aimed at interpreting Nature by fathoming the inmost depths of being. They found this true essence of all reality in what they called "will," an instinctive will, unconscious and unintelligent in itself, which had gradually developed the faculties of ideation and understanding as secondary products.

These tendencies were encouraged by the development of historical events. The French Revolution—an attempt of human reason to bring forth a new state and a new religion of its own conception—was thwarted by the irrational and historical forces of human life. Recovering their strength soon after the first shock these forces ultimately defeated reason, which had shown itself powerless to establish a new order of human affairs, and restored the old forms of life, founded on habit, custom and historical development. Thus history itself seemed to teach that man was not an *animal rationale* as the old definition would have it, that he was not a logically and rationally self-sufficient being, but the creature of historical environment, who lives by the Universal Reason embodied in the experience of the race.

Failure of
the French
Revolution.

In this way arose that steadfast belief in the value of history which forms so characteristic a trait of nineteenth century thought and sentiment. The rational aspect of things is the outcome of their own historical development. To the eye of the historian the immanent Logos is everywhere apparent, in law and custom as well as in language and religion. There is therefore no need for any subjective understanding or reasoning to rationalise all these forms of historical life from without. Reality is rational in itself, not only in the physical world, as governed by the laws of “objective logic,” but also in the domain of organic life, consisting as it does in the progressive evolution of organisms designed to serve rational purposes, and no less in history, in which objective reason unfolds itself, giving birth to the self-conscious reason as a mere off-shoot. These ideas, in which jurists of the historical school were at one with speculative philosophers, have recently been revived and are still operative in the shape of

“Reason
in His-
tory.”

Marxism and of Darwinism, which, in their turn, are not without their bearing on the treatment of history.

Historical
studies.

The belief that reason is immanent in history naturally fostered the inclination and taste for historical studies. As long as history was regarded as a mere collection of accidental occurrences brought about, for the greater part, by ignorance and brute force, and following each other without any inner meaning or necessity—which was on the whole the view taken by the rationalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—the study of history could hardly be regarded as serving any better purpose than the satisfaction of an idle curiosity. Scientific interest in general was restricted exclusively to the sphere of the rational—of universal and necessary truths. This state of things was entirely changed in the nineteenth century. Reason once being acknowledged to be immanent in all historical development, history became a true science, attractive even to a philosophical mind, and soon everybody was busily at work, taking his share in those manifold historical studies and researches which are so characteristic of the nineteenth century. All branches of historical life—language and mythology, law and political constitution, social and economical life, literature and art, science and philosophy—were now treated from the standpoint of organic evolution. The ascertainment of historical facts, but no less the investigation into the logical necessity immanent in these facts, occupied the best intellects. I will only mention the names of the two brothers Grimm, von Savigny, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Bopp, Hegel, F. A. Wolf and Niebuhr.

At the same time a new sense was developed, as it were—the historic sense, *i.e.*, the capability of seeing

the facts of history in their true perspective. In former times historians had been conscious, in an abstract way, of the fact that the whole purport of human existence is different during different periods. But they had nevertheless continued to view the life of the past through the spectacles of the present. The dogmatic interests which dominated intellectual life necessarily led them to look in the past for the same questions and problems, the same ideas and forms of life, which occupied the attention of their own times. It was not until those dogmatic interests began to recede into the background that room could be found for the free development of the historic sense proper. Now at last the eyes of mankind were opened to the endless variety of historical life, and the proper appreciation of the individual and unique character of each single age now became the chief object passionately pursued by every historian. How these historical investigations afterwards assumed an ever-widening scope, how the academical teaching of the humanistic sciences changed its character under these influences, and how the introduction to historical research replaced dogmatic instruction in theology and jurisprudence as well as in philosophy and the history of art and literature—all this must be reserved for future pages.

I will now give an outline of the political and social development. The general character of the period was determined by the great and irresistible advance of the lower orders, the spread of the democratic spirit. The old aristocracy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had lost its former predominance and its social and legal prerogatives. The first half of the century was marked by the rise of the middle classes. With the progress of commerce and manufactures personal property grew in extent,

Demo-
cratic
tendencies.

whereas landed property decreased, at least in relative value. In the great political movement about the middle of the century, which resulted in the establishment of constitutional government, the middle classes attained legal and political equality. The parliamentary representation of the people was, no doubt, originally intended to bestow on the well-to-do and educated middle classes the influence which was their due in political life. During the second half of the century a new movement began to make itself felt—the rise of a “fourth estate.” The rapid growth of the large towns and of capitalistic enterprise in the industrial world led to a large proletariat of labour being congested in the manufacturing centres. With a steadily-improving standard of life and education these masses, constituting the political party of social democracy, and officially recognised as members of the political organism by the establishment of universal suffrage, have become an important factor of social and political life. As matters stand at present this labour party still likes to be looked upon, in many respects, as a revolutionary force. It will be one of the great tasks of the future to assign to it its proper sphere in German public life and to induce it to take part in the peaceful work of government in all its branches.

Party
strife.

With these movements was connected another characteristic phenomenon in the public life of the nineteenth century, namely, the strife of parties, which, from being almost unknown to the eighteenth century, came to be looked upon, during the nineteenth, as the most natural form of all public transactions. Wherever we direct our glance—to state, society, church or school—everywhere hostile forces are arrayed against each other. The first half of the

century was taken up with the struggle for the grant of a political constitution. In the revolutionary year of 1848 the rising middle classes obtained in the main what they were striving for, at least on paper. With the party struggle of Liberals and Conservatives was closely connected the conflict of religious and ecclesiastical parties. Indeed, there was never a break, throughout the century, in the efforts to restore traditional authority and adherence to the letter of the creed in the Protestant and papal absolutism in the Roman Catholic Church—efforts which met with varying success in the former, but have been steadily gaining ground in the latter. Rationalism was driven out of the Churches but not out of the world where it remained operative as a power hostile to the Church; and this hostility towards the Church was worked up, by a process of mutual exacerbation, into an attitude of hostility towards religion in general. A materialistic view of the world, after first taking hold of large sections of the educated classes, is now widely prevalent amongst the masses. Midway between these two extremes—a purely dogmatic belief on one side and pure atheism on the other—stands philosophical idealism as a mediating and pacificatory force, insisting that it is possible to reconcile scientific knowledge with a religious view of the world on the lines of either Kant or Hegel or Fechner. At present, however, this idealism can hardly be called a real force in the great world, and thus the old spiritual unity has been completely lost to our times. The former unity of religious belief, which had dominated European civilisation right down to the seventeenth century, and which, even in the eighteenth century, continued, in the shape of “natural religion,” to provide contemporary thought and sentiment with a homo-

geneous basis, has been replaced by a general dissension of opinion, which everywhere makes mutual understanding and co-operation difficult and often, indeed, impossible.

All these influences have also been active in the domain of education, and the struggle for the schools has been waged during the whole century. The desire for domination which is the moving spirit of every party constantly calls forth endeavours to make the schools subservient to party interests. The education which every party as such expects the schools to impart to the rising generation does not consist in the organic development and emancipation of the mind, but rather in binding and training it for one particular school of thought and opinion, in accordance with the maxim that the future belongs to him who has the young on his side. This belief, however, is deceptive, for youth and the future refuse to be captured so easily. They are apt to find their way to their goal, in spite of all the fences and barricades by which we may try to hinder them.

National-
istic
tendencies.

Two further points may be mentioned as characteristic of the development of the modern state during the nineteenth century: its increasing nationalisation and the steady widening and deepening of its activities. Instead of the humanistic cosmopolitanism which had dominated the educated classes during the eighteenth century, the key-note of the general European sentiment during the nineteenth century is supplied by a national self-consciousness which is becoming ever more pronounced and not unfrequently reaches the pitch of a fanatical nationalism full of hatred and contempt of everything foreign. Each single nation, even the smallest, and indeed the smallest perhaps more

than any other, endeavours to isolate itself as an independent and organic whole, and is ashamed of having to own foreign influences in language and general culture, often betraying a spirit of quixotic irritability, just as if the lines of demarcation between what is good and evil, or what is true and false, were identical with the national boundaries! This state of things was encouraged by the recent formation, in the heart of Europe, of two great states based on national homogeneity. Germany and Italy, whose historical fates had prevented them for many centuries from reaching political unity, had to fight long and bloody wars for their national existence as states.

This intensification of the national sentiment in Germany, which began with the wars of German Independence, reached its climax in the wars of the Bismarckian era. It engendered, in due course, an equal intensification of the national sentiment on the part of the other nations, especially those of the East, which had hitherto been open to the influence of German culture and language; and this resulted, in most cases, in an outspoken enmity against the German people and the German language.

The other point I mentioned, the increasing scope and energy of State activity, is equally obvious in all countries, but in Germany more so, I think, than anywhere else. In the eighteenth century the State regarded, at any rate in theory, if not in practice, the exertion of its power as its highest and, indeed, almost as its exclusive aim. Naturally this view led the State not only to organise its fighting forces but also to promote the increase of its population and its wealth, and therefore, indirectly, the progress of national culture, scientific knowledge and general education. But in the course of the nineteenth

The extension of the State's activity

century the State was actually transformed into an institution devoted to the advancement of universal culture and furthering the human and moral ideals of the nation for their own sake. The ideas of Fichte and of Hegel foreshadowed what is now being realised. They saw in the State not merely an organisation destined to secure national power or safety, but an institution intended to realise the moral idea. This tendency manifested itself above all in two respects: first in the domain of education and then in social politics. The modern educational system is dominated by the idea that the State, constituting as it does the external organisation of national life, ought to provide all members of the nation, for their own sake and for the sake of national dignity, with the necessary facilities for their intellectual and moral training. This idea caused an enormous extension of public enterprise and an astonishing increase in the provisions made for educational purposes, Germany leading the way and gradually inducing the other countries to follow her example. As a second shoot from the same root-stock, social politics have grown up during the last generation, the leading idea being, here again, that it is the duty of the nation, as organised in the State, to preserve the permanent efficiency of all its members, and more particularly those who are socially inferior, protecting them against exploitation and overwork, assisting them in dangerous crises, and making provision for the disabled and the veterans of the army of labour.

German
education
in the
nineteenth
century.

In the nineteenth century Germany took the lead in the educational movement among the nations of Europe. The German universities have become acknowledged centres of scientific research for the whole world. They are frequented by students from

all parts of the earth, and the universities of other countries, especially those of the United States, have been remodelled upon them. In the domain of primary and of technical education Germany has also become the universal teacher of Europe. But it must not be forgotten, in this connection, that the German people had been the pupils of their neighbours during a greater length of time and with greater assiduity than any other European nation. Thus, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Germany imported the culture of Humanism from Italy. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries she introduced the modern courtly culture and language of the French people, besides giving admission, since the middle of the eighteenth century, to the philosophy, science and literature of English middle-class society. Lastly, since the end of the eighteenth century, the Germans have yielded themselves to the influence of the Hellenic spirit with greater fervour than any other nation. The result is that, in the wealth of its domain of knowledge, in the width and many-sidedness of interests, German education possesses—to use a musical metaphor—a polyphonic character which forms a marked contrast with the one-sidedness and exclusiveness which are found in the education of other nations. The variety of foreign languages which are taught in Germany, and the great number of people who go in for learning them, may be looked upon as a visible expression of the part which Germany thus plays as mediator between East and West, between South and North.

Three principal periods are to be distinguished in the history of German education during the nineteenth century. The first was an era of reorganisation and completion of the educational system in all Three phases.

its branches, from the universities down to the primary schools. The second, comprising the forties, fifties and sixties, was an era of stagnation and repression. It coincided with the political storms of revolution and reaction and was marked by an attitude of distrust on the part of the authorities towards the people and towards general education. The last period, beginning with the political elevation, was an era of renewed vigorous advance also in the domain of education. The restoration of the mutual confidence between the Government and the people gave also rise to a renewed confidence in general education—every increase of the intellectual and moral powers of the individual being regarded as a gain to the whole community.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE ideas which were prevalent amongst the German people at the beginning of the nineteenth century have been outlined in the last chapter of the preceding book—lofty ideas of human dignity and human culture as conceived by Kant and Fichte, Goethe and Schiller. I have now to describe how the reconstruction of educational institutions was achieved during the first decades of the century. The tremendous changes which were brought about in the whole political situation by Napoleon, the legate and executor of the Revolution, prepared the way for it. To avoid losing ourselves in details it will be well to confine ourselves mainly to Prussia, the German state which is generally acknowledged to have led the way, for better and also for worse, in the domain of education during the nineteenth century. Regenera-
tion of
Prussia.

Of all European states Prussia had suffered the heaviest defeat in the collision with Napoleon, its whole political organisation having completely collapsed. In this way the erection of an entirely new structure became at the same time possible and necessary. It was undertaken in the decade following the battle of Jena, a decade of the most strenuous and fruitful activity. "Everybody was eager," as Schön once said, "to improve the existing state of things as well as himself, so that the nation might

again become worthy of a better fate." Germany's best men—in truth, the noblest of the nation—stood at the head of the movement. It will suffice to mention here the names of Baron von Stein, Scharnhorst and Wilhelm von Humboldt. Stein reconstructed the organisation of the State. He began by establishing self-government in towns and cities and emancipating the peasants, his intention being to found the State altogether on the spontaneous activity of free citizens. Scharnhorst created a new national army, based on universal compulsory military service, and resting on the same idea that the State is founded on the willing force of its free citizens, ready, if need be, to defend its existence, arms in hand. Wilhelm von Humboldt reconstructed the educational system, the leading idea being here again the cultivation of self-reliance through self-help.

W. von
Humboldt.

Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) was a most remarkable figure—a figure possible perhaps only in those days. He was at the same time a philosopher, a scholar, a philologist and a statesman. All the forces of the new century were operative in his mind. He had been brought up and educated in Berlin during the "Enlightenment" period, initiated at Göttingen in the knowledge of classical antiquity by Heyne, and imbued with the new philosophical ideas by the study of Kant's philosophy. Being, moreover, intimately connected with Schiller and F. A. Wolf, he had found the centre of his interests in the world of classical antiquity. In his study of the Hellenic world it was man—the essential human nature—that formed the real object of his exploration. After spending a number of years in Rome as Prussian Ambassador to the Curia, he was placed, in the beginning of 1809, at the head of the

newly-reorganised educational administration of the Prussian state, being assisted by Nicolovius and Süvern as State-councillors. Humboldt remained in this position only a short time—until the 23rd of June in 1810—but it was sufficient for him to place the whole educational system of the State on a new basis and to inspire it with new ideas. During this era the development of the universities, as well as of the secondary and primary schools, took the direction which, with a few variations and modifications, has been maintained throughout the whole century.

Before entering into details I will once more recall the general sentiment of the times. Those were the days of that passionate emotion and highly-strung enthusiasm which appeals to us in Fichte's "Addresses to the German Nation." Never have the souls of men been so deeply stirred by the idea of raising the whole existence of mankind to a higher level. Something like the enthusiasm which had taken hold of the minds at the outbreak of the French Revolution was again at work, the only difference being that the strong current of national feeling directed it towards an aim which, if more limited, was, for that very reason, more practicable and more defined. The Revolution had served to rouse the French people from the dull and futile existence they had carried on under the old *regime*, setting free all its energies and thus making possible that enormous concentration of power by which, under the leadership of Napoleon, they shattered Europe, as it then existed, into fragments. Here, on the other hand, it was a case of regenerating the German nation, apparently doomed beyond redemption, by rejuvenating it from within, from the inmost depths of its nature, thereby enabling it to restore its own external or political existence. It was felt that this

National
enthusi-
asm.

was a cause which did not concern the German people alone but the whole of mankind; for the conviction that the distinctive character of the German people was indispensable to mankind—a conviction to which Fichte gave expression in the strain of that reflective pathos which is peculiar to him—imparted to the patriotic emotion a tinge of religious sentiment. What is necessary, however, must also be possible; this was another of the most assured beliefs of those gigantic times. For it was the idea of freedom, as embodied in Kant's doctrine that man can do what he ought to do, or as preached by Schiller and Fichte. "To reshape reality by means of ideas is the business of man, his proper earthly task; and nothing can be impossible to a will confident of itself and its aim." And, as a practical confirmation of this belief in the omnipotence of the human will, that generation had ever before their eyes the mighty Corsican who took Europe in his grasp and moulded it according to his will and pleasure. Could it be impossible for a will, guided by reason and its immutable ideas, to achieve what was possible to mere arbitrary desires without any ideas to enlighten them? The outcome then of ethical, political and pedagogical reasoning was the conviction that to realise in the actual world ideas of a new, a higher civilisation, and thus to inaugurate a new great epoch of human history, is a matter that lies with ourselves and depends solely on our own earnestness of purpose.

I. THE UNIVERSITIES

Founda-
tion of the
University
of Berlin.

A new chapter opens in the history of university teaching with the foundation of the university of Berlin (1810), the most individual achievement of

Wilhelm von Humboldt. Established under the most depressing political conditions, but—considering the prevailing poverty—munificently equipped, it had been intended, from the first, to become a centre of German science and learning—an imperishable monument of the strength and self-reliance which enabled the prostrate state to rise again, and at the same time of the spirit in which this elevation was effected. The king himself had once defined that spirit by saying that the Prussian state would have to make up for its loss in physical by intellectual forces. From the beginning the new university was the meeting-place of the best intellectual forces of the time, Schleiermacher and Fichte being among its spiritual founders. Its character was determined, above all, by the cultivation of classical studies and of speculative philosophy.

The University of Berlin was, at the same time, the earliest representative of a new type, the leading idea of its foundation being that the university should be, above all, the workshop of free scientific research. The universities of the eighteenth century had already shown a tendency in that direction, Halle and Göttingen leading the way. But, in their whole constitution, they continued to be, in the first place, mere high schools, teaching being the principal task of the professors, whereas scientific research was expected of them only as a secondary pursuit. And so too on the side of the students, the main business was the reception of the subject-matter presented to them in the lectures. At the University of Berlin, however, proficiency in some branch of scientific research was regarded from the first as the principal requirement, aptitude for teaching coming into consideration only in the second place, although it would be more correct to say it was taken for

Original
research.

granted that a prominent scholar who had distinguished himself in scientific research was always likely to make the best and—in the last and highest resort—the most efficient teacher. For a new idea was also formed of the ultimate purpose of academical studies, the object in view being no longer the acquisition of encyclopædic learning or of dogmatic propositions, but the gaining of an independent grasp of scientific principles, the lifting of the student into the region of ideas, and his initiation at the same time into original scientific research. In this conception of academic study Fichte and Schleiermacher, who started from very different points of view in other respects, found each other on common ground, and it has indeed become the dominant idea of German university education. At the same time this implied a new method of defining the relations between the university and the State. Whilst for a school, even for a high school, schemes of studies and courses of instruction may be laid down by government officials, scientific research cannot possibly be regulated by decrees of the ruling powers, but can only thrive in full liberty. To find aims and objects, means and ways of speculation and research must be left to individual initiative. The function of the State can here be no other than to provide external means and facilities, and to establish a system of purely external order, in which the joint work of masters and novices of a science can be carried on. This was the view taken by Humboldt in a memorial published in 1810: "The State should not treat the universities as if they were higher classical schools or schools of special sciences. On the whole the State should not look to them at all for anything that directly concerns its own interests, but should rather cherish a conviction that, in ful-

filling their real destination, they will not only serve its own purposes, but serve them on an infinitely higher plane, commanding a much wider field of operation, and affording room to set in motion much more efficient springs and forces than are at the disposal of the State itself."

It was a remarkable coincidence. Only a few years before, in 1808, Napoleon had reorganised the French universities, consistently following the opposite principle. The several faculties were separately constituted as special schools, in which medical men, officials, judges, etc., received a purely professional education, hard-and-fast rules being laid down for the latter. Both curricula and examinations were regulated by State authorities. The professors were teachers and examiners rather than scholars, and all individual initiative was restricted to the smallest minimum. While the victor of Jena thus based the highest educational institutions of France on a foundation of official regulations, the vanquished nation had the courage to follow a diametrically opposite line of policy in entrusting the education of its officials to institutions given over to the free pursuit of knowledge—another imperishable monument of its sturdy belief in itself and in the ideas of truth and liberty. The fact that, two generations afterwards, the French people began to reorganise their universities on German lines would seem to afford a strong proof of the superiority of the idea of liberty as compared with the principle of rules and regulations.

The new University of Berlin was the most striking representation of the new ideal which the German universities began to set before themselves in the new century:—to become institutions devoted to scientific research and scientific instruction in the

proper sense. The example of Berlin was followed by a number of universities, either reorganised or newly founded during the same period, amongst them those of Breslau (1811), Bonn (1818), and Munich (1826), while, at the same time, a considerable number of old and antiquated establishments ceased to exist, as a consequence, mostly, of the disappearance of the smaller state, to whose institutions they belonged. University teaching was divested more and more of everything that smacked of the school, its transformation in compliance with the requirements of exact science being furthered by the simultaneous development of the secondary schools, above all, by the prolongation and extension of their course of studies, the institution of the Leaving Examination, and the increase in the average age of the undergraduates which resulted therefrom. The lectures, which had so far been of a more general character, especially in the philosophical faculty, now began everywhere to follow more special lines. At the same time the "*Seminare*" were called into being, which have, since then, gradually spread over all departments of academical study—small advanced classes in which original work is done by senior students under the guidance of the professor. The doctoral dissertations are, as a rule, produced in this way as first specimens of more or less original research.

The faculty
of Phil-
osophy.

The faculty of Philosophy was the first to be remodelled on the new lines. Hitherto it had been regarded as the "lower" faculty, destined to provide a groundwork of general knowledge for the students of the "upper" faculties, particularly those of Theology and Law, by supplementing and finishing their education in the subjects taught at school. But now it became an independent professional faculty

on equal terms with the others, its special object being to provide a scholarly education for the teachers at the new *Gymnasien*. As this did not imply, however, a training for a "practical" profession in the proper sense, as was the case in the faculties of Medicine, Law and Theology—the task of the teachers being not the application but the propagation of science and learning, albeit on a lower plane—the philosophical faculty now became the scientific faculty *par excellence*. It was here that the specialising lecture and the *Seminar* were first introduced. The philologists, headed by F. A. Wolf, led the way, the object they had in view not being to turn out teachers but scholars. Teaching as such they did not consider at all as an art which could itself be taught, but rather took it for granted that any one who was himself proficient in a science ought to be able to teach others. The other sciences—mathematics, physics, history, modern philology—followed in the same path, the object in view being everywhere not to train teachers of those sciences for the schools but to produce scholars able to advance the state of scientific knowledge by original research. In all these branches of learning the *Seminar*, and other institutions devoted to the cultivation of the methods of research, assumed a prominent part in academical teaching.

In this way the philosophical faculty has gained the leading position at the German universities, not only as far as scientific knowledge in itself is concerned, but also in regard to the methods of university teaching. The philological and historical sciences furnish the theoretical foundation of theology and jurisprudence, or rather of the sciences of religion and of law, built up in all their parts on philological and historical research. Again, the natural sciences—

Its relations to the other faculties.

physics, chemistry and biology—are the basis of all medical knowledge, which everywhere makes use of their results and methods. Indeed, theology and jurisprudence, as developed during the nineteenth century, may be regarded as special branches of philological and historical research, separated only accidentally from the allied sciences, and, on practical grounds, constituted as special faculties. The former dogmatic constitution of these sciences has been more and more replaced by the historical method. Theology is no longer a system of absolute truths and propositions about God and the world, about the Trinity and the Incarnation, but the historical science of the Christian religion. Jurisprudence is no longer a system of legal maxims, appertaining either to the law of Nature or to an established code, but the historical science of the development of law, from its origins—in our case Roman and German—into the present legal system, which is, in its turn, only a temporary stage in a larger development. Accordingly these faculties followed, in their methods of teaching, the example set by the faculty of Philosophy, with the result that specialising lectures and *Seminare* are now steadily gaining ground everywhere. The practical purposes of these studies, the influence of which begins already to make itself felt in the examinations, prevent, it is true, the specialisation from being carried to quite the same lengths. But the real trend of the development is shown by the demand which has been heard, here and there, in our own days, that the theological faculty should be transformed into a faculty devoted to the science of religion in general, and observing a neutral attitude towards the distinguishing features of the various Christian and other religions. The medical faculty is closely associated,

in regard to its methods of research and teaching, with the natural sciences, having, indeed, in former times, long marched in their van as a pioneer.

So much for the general type of the German university as evolved during the nineteenth century. There is no room here for a detailed description of the successive phases of its development. I may say, however, that, on the whole, it has been a steady and continuous development, although here, too, the three different periods of the century, as defined above, are clearly distinguishable.

The three principal periods of the nineteenth century.

The first was a period of uninterrupted and rapid progress, which remained unchecked, on the whole, by the adverse political circumstances. However much individual suffering may have been caused by them the frequent acts of political repression and persecution conferred on the German universities with their teachers and students an inner dignity and strength, and at the same time a popularity such as they never enjoyed before or since. During these four decades numbers of prominent men directed scientific research towards new aims and imparted new impulses to intellectual life which have remained operative to this day.

1800-1840.

The stagnation of public life which has been described as characteristic of the second period manifested itself at the universities no less than elsewhere. Their progress slackened, the number of their students fell off; adverse and strained circumstances made themselves felt everywhere. As to the development of their inner life, speculative philosophy and Neo-Humanistic philology lost the position they had so far occupied. The belief that the great mystery of existence could be fathomed by pure reasoning on the lines of Hegel gave way to a feeling of utter disillusionment, and the enthusiastic

1840-1870

love for the Hellenic world was supplanted by the interest in the pressing problems of the present. Exact scientific research in a sober spirit became the general shibboleth of the German universities about the middle of the century. The natural sciences, based on mathematics and the experimental method, rapidly rose in reputation; even within the sphere of general education men began to look to them rather than to speculative philosophy for salvation and guidance to all truth. A similar spirit gained the ascendancy in the humanistic sciences. Historians began to undertake research work on a large scale, investigating original sources, sifting archives, collecting inscriptions, and editing materials of every description—scientific exactness and a critical mind being considered the foremost requirements of a scholar. Theology and jurisprudence followed in the same track, so far as they did not give themselves up to a positivist acceptance of the established order of things.

1870-1900.

The last third of the century saw the amazing advance of the German people after the restoration of their political unity in the German empire, by which they obtained a new lease of power and wealth conspicuous in all departments of public life. Thus, means were also forthcoming for the universities in greater abundance than ever, the enormous increase in the figures of attendance forming another visible expression of their rising prosperity. The benefits accruing from their liberal equipment with modern scientific institutions have principally fallen to the share of the natural and medical sciences. At the large central universities these faculties have assumed huge dimensions, till each comes to have an entire quarter of the university town to itself. A characteristic feature in this respect is the intimate

connection of the institutes devoted to natural science, above all to chemistry, with technological practice, by which science has literally been turned into a gold-mine. In the teaching staff of the universities this lateral growth of all branches of science finds an expression in the continual addition of new chairs, with a proportionately narrower range of lectures, and, as a rule, also a narrower field of research. Specialism is the form in which scientific work is carried on in our days. This is apparent in all faculties, but most of all in that of Philosophy—the progressive sub-division of special departments of teaching being equally pronounced in both its principal branches, *i.e.*, the natural as well as the humanistic sciences.*

* A few statistical data may not be unwelcome. I quote from W. Lexis, *Die Universitäten im deutschen Reich* (1904).

The total income of the Prussian universities was as follows :—

	1865 (68)	1903
Berlin	590,361	3,406,918
Bonn	485,181	1,441,990
Breslau	365,937	1,615,575
Göttingen	819,164	1,407,154
Greifswald	257,400	1,040,927
Halle	399,854	1,861,860
Kiel	304,266	1,220,683
Königsberg	296,991	1,239,725
Marburg	239,451	1,017,545
Münster	58,395	536,594
	<hr/> 3,807,000	<hr/> 14,788,968 M.

(*Skillings*)

The number of students at all the German universities was—

	Theology	Law	Medicine	Philosophy	Total
1830	6076	4502	2355	2937	15,870
1850	3006	4386	1932	3102	12,426
1903	3777	11,747	6948	15,205	37,677

The number of professors at the German universities was—

	Theology	Law	Medicine	Philosophy
1840	151	140	201	394
1860	137	127	194	465
1900	215(+9)	188(+12)	443(+19)	894(+52)

Outcome
of this
develop-
ment.

In this way the universities have developed into those vast institutions which it is almost impossible to identify with the older establishments, as subsisting until the end of the eighteenth century, with their couple of dozen teachers and their endowments of a paltry few hundred pounds. The body of academical teachers, especially in the two lower faculties, has been multiplied tenfold and even more. The various institutions are administered by quite a staff of assistants, custodians, officials and servants of all kinds. Under these circumstances the regulation of academical studies by decrees from above, as still practised to a very large extent in the eighteenth century, is no longer to be thought of. On the whole, academic liberty never was greater than at present, least of all in the days of the mediæval corporation of scholars, when the pressure to which the thought of the time was subjected by the Church was still further increased by the jealousy of the corporative bodies. The only way in which an attempt is still made now and then to influence the course of the development of scientific thought, especially in the faculty of Theology, is by giving preference to certain teachers on account of their personal standpoint, in filling the university chairs. This selection, however, is usually forced on the educational authorities from without, being mainly due to influences which have to be looked for at court, in the synods, or in parliamentary life. Similar forces are at work in occasional attempts at controlling the appointments of professors of political economy and philosophy. To steer clear of all such influences is to the interest of the administrative authorities no less than of the academical faculties. Whether the rising prosperity of the universities has, on the whole, furthered the growth of

individual independence is another question. I am not prepared to affirm it without reserve. Money, titles and decorations play a considerably more important part at present than during the first half of the nineteenth century. If the desire for such things has become greater it is bound to exercise its natural influence in lessening the independence on the part of the recipients and the respect on the part of the donors.

One other point deserves notice. The development of academic studies, on the lines described, entails certain difficulties on the part of the students, at least of all those who do not mean to devote their whole life to original research work. The professional duties of the teacher, the medical practitioner, the lawyer or the clergyman presuppose an education of a more encyclopaedic character, comprising all branches of their respective sciences. To acquire such an education, however, becomes more difficult in proportion as the number of independent subjects is increased and instruction, especially in the *Seminare*, assumes a more specialised character. There is a danger that the student will either lose himself in the multitude of subjects that call for his attention, or let the general view of the whole domain of his science slip from his ken, in trying to fathom one single problem. No doubt it was very much easier in the eighteenth century to fulfil the requirements of an academic education in this respect, when one physicist lectured on all branches of natural science or one historian on the whole domain of history, and when the lectures of every single theologian and jurist comprised all subjects falling within the sphere of his faculty. In most cases, moreover, these sciences were presented to the student in the form of a dogmatic system, whilst, at

Draw-
backs.

present, on the contrary, the aim of academic teaching is to bring him in touch everywhere with the progress of ever unfinished inquiries and to teach him how to navigate the vast sea of historic research.

A certain weariness and disappointment, which begins to make itself felt here and there, would seem to be the outcome of personal experiences of this kind. The student gives himself up to science, trusting to be guided by it to positive knowledge and perhaps even to the highest goal, a consistent view of the world on a scientific basis. And then he has to realise that all scientific research never yields any but fragmentary knowledge, and that even these fragments of knowledge always remain subject to doubt! Indeed, there is no single point absolutely safeguarded against doubt and the possibility of alternative interpretations, either in the historical or in the natural sciences. From the most fundamental principles to their most remote applications there is constant growth and change.

Allied
institutions
of a
practical or
technical
character.

A few words may be said in conclusion concerning a new class of educational institutions which have grown up during the nineteenth century, side by side with the old universities, their common characteristic being the cultivation of science in its application to practical and technological purposes. The amazing advance of the technical arts in all branches of economical life, above all in the domain of industry and transport, but also in agriculture and commerce, has created a new demand for a preparatory education in the technological sciences, for which there is no form of adequate supply other than by institutions on the level of the universities. The Technical High Schools were the earliest of this class. Developed out of technical schools of a more elementary character, they have attained, during the second

half of last century, an equal footing with the old universities, at first in practice and then also in regard to their organisation and legal constitution. At present there are eleven of them in the German empire—all situated in large towns, mostly in the capitals of the states to which they belong, with an aggregate number of students getting on towards 20,000. The Technical High Schools were followed by Mining Academies and Schools of Forestry, by Agricultural and Veterinary Colleges, and, last of all, by Commercial Academies, all of them organised as institutions of the same standing as the universities. Thus, the three main forms of economic enterprise, agriculture, industry and commerce, have come to be represented, side by side with the old "learned" professions, amongst the highest class of educational institutions. It should be added that, earlier even than the arts of peace, those of war had assumed so complicated a technical character that the military profession called for a special academical education, which was provided in the Military Academies, the Schools of Gunnery and of Engineering.*

II. THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The reorganisation of the secondary schools was another achievement accomplished during the short span of time between the downfall of the old Empire and the Wars of Independence, which testified to the passionate belief in man and his mission, the enthusiastic confidence in man's nature and his power to mould his own being in accordance with ideas. To encourage true self-culture by replacing the old lifeless methods of teaching by a living and spon-

A. CLAS-
SICAL
SCHOOLS.

New
ideals.

* A short survey of all these institutions is to be found in *Das Unterrichtswesen im deutschen Reich* (Part IV.), by W. Lexis.

taneous reception of all that was most worth knowing was the leading idea of the reorganisation of the schools. A living contact with classical antiquity was to rouse the susceptible minds of the young, whose wills and feelings are readily engaged, to a higher level of human culture. At the same time they ought not to be kept in ignorance of the great achievements of the modern world if a maximum of intellectual and moral culture was really to be attained. It was needful, above all, that their minds should already be opened during their school years to mathematical and natural science, the latest of the great achievements of the human intellect. In this way an all-round education was secured, whilst at the same time the intellectual faculties in themselves were developed and trained in every direction, with the result that any one who had gone through the school was not only equally well grounded in all branches of academic study but also equipped with the best possible education for all other professions.

(1) 1800-1840.

"All-round education."

The three periods of the nineteenth century, as before described, are as well defined in the development of the modern *Gymnasium* as in that of the universities. The first was the era of its foundation and organisation—an era of sanguine expectations and hopes. The leaders were W. von Humboldt, Süvern, and later on Johannes Schulze, while F. A. Wolf, Schleiermacher, and afterwards Hegel, also exercised considerable influence. "All-round education" was the dominant ideal of this period, the beginning of which is marked by three important measures.

The "ex-amen pro fac. doc."

In the first place, new regulations were issued concerning the education of the higher teachers, a special examination being instituted by a rescript,

dated July 12th, in 1810—the *examen pro facultate docendi*. This new examination raised the calling of the secondary teachers in Prussia to the rank of an independent profession. Until then the teachers at the classical schools had always been clergymen, who regarded this occupation as a stepping-stone to a Church living—the latter being better endowed and considered as more comfortable and dignified. Their education was, of course, mainly of a theological character, with a groundwork of humanistic and philosophical studies. They were appointed by the patrons of the schools, *i.e.*, in most cases by the town council, and having been thus designated they had, as a rule, to pass an examination *pro loco* before the *Superintendent*;^{*} but an academical degree, or a testimonial from a university professor who was the head of a *Seminar*, was sometimes accepted as an equivalent. The new examination was held by the “Educational Delegations” (*Wissenschaftliche Deputationen*) constituted for the purpose at the three universities which were left to the Prussian State—those of Berlin, Breslau and Königsberg. They were to assist the educational authorities in every respect, but their principal task was to examine the secondary teachers in the various branches of learning. No appointment was to be granted henceforth to anyone who had not passed this examination, so that the patrons could no longer nominate and install candidates previously to their obtaining their certificates. The examination itself was to comprise all subjects taught at the *Gymnasium*—languages and sciences, mathematics and history—but candidates were to be given a chance of showing their exceptional proficiency in any subject to which they might have specially devoted themselves. The

^{*} See p. 77.

object of this new arrangement was to ensure that the teachers at the secondary schools were men of sound learning. It was felt that a general education, such as a clergyman would bring to the exercise of his calling, was not sufficient for them, but that they ought to be sound scholars in some department of learning or other. Besides, they were to realise their solidarity as a separate class and to be imbued with a healthy *esprit de corps*, quickening their sense of honour as members of one of the learned professions.

The new
curri-
culum.

Secondly, about the same time, a new curriculum for the *Gymnasium* was drawn up by Süvern, who was assisted by numerous experts. It was not destined ever to be published, as the great Wars of Independence intervened, but it may serve to indicate the general direction in which the authorities endeavoured to influence individual schools; it may be added that, in those days, they still shrank from interfering too much with their freedom of action. The most characteristic feature of the new order of studies was that four principal subjects were described as being of collateral importance—Latin, Greek, German and mathematics. With the exception of Greek, which was not begun until the third year, the instruction in these subjects extended over the whole course of ten years. The aggregate numbers of hours devoted to them per week were: Latin, 76; Greek, 50; German, 44; mathematics, 60. Moreover, 30 hours were devoted to history and geography, and 20 hours each to religious instruction and natural science. This was the beginning of the modern *Gymnasium*. The old grammar school had practically only one principal subject, namely Latin composition with the addition of a little Greek. The aim of the new secondary school was to provide an all-round education, the linguistic and literary side

being cultivated by the classical studies and the instruction in German, the "realistic" side by mathematical and natural sciences, history and religious instruction. As a matter of fact, however, the principal stress continued to be laid on the classical studies, simply because most of the teachers were philologists who attributed only a secondary importance to mathematical and natural sciences, and, indeed, not seldom looked upon these subjects as obnoxious intruders. The classical studies themselves were carried on in the spirit of Neo-Humanism. Their former aim—elegance of composition—was, if not discarded altogether, at any rate no longer treated as the principal end, which was now seen in the permeation of the mind with the spirit of classical antiquity by living contact with its greatest writers, above all, the Greek classics. It was taken for granted that such studies would, at the same time, automatically bear fruit in the sphere of æsthetic and literary culture and exert a "formative" influence on the intellectual faculties. In the method of teaching a change was effected in that larger calls were made upon the spontaneous activity of the pupils in the shape of home preparation of the work to be done in class, and also of independent private study—original philological work on a small scale, which became the pride of the more proficient pupils.

The third measure was the reform of the Leaving Examination, new regulations for which were published in 1812 (before the completion of the new curriculum), extending and defining the former regulations as issued in 1788. Amongst the requirements for this examination was now mentioned, in the first place and above all, a complete mastery of the classical languages. In Greek, candidates had to show by "unseen" translations—even of

The Leaving Examination.

dramatic dialogues—that they were able to read Greek fluently; a written translation from the German was further to testify to their proficiency in Greek grammar. In Latin they were expected to prove by a Latin essay, as well as in the *viva voce* examination, that they had acquired a full command of the language for conversational and literary purposes. In addition to this a German essay had to be composed and mathematical problems to be worked out; and there was a *viva voce* examination in all subjects.

By the carrying into effect of these regulations the secondary schools proper (as preparatory to the university) were singled out from the great number of existing grammar schools. Those authorised to hold the official Leaving Examination were distinguished by the name *Gymnasium*.

The possibility of gaining admittance to an academical career by passing an entrance examination at the university itself was not, however, done away with at once. It was not until 1834 that this loop-hole was blocked up; and since then there has been no other approach to the learned professions but the “strait gate” of the Leaving Examination.

Johannes
Schulze.

In 1818 Johannes Schulze entered the ministry. He was the head of the administration of secondary schools until 1840. His great task was to complete and consolidate the new Order of Studies for the *Gymnasium* in every direction by a considerable number of further regulations. He carefully defined the methods and aims of teaching in every subject and endeavoured to ensure compliance and success by entrusting the Provincial Boards of Education (which were separated from the Consistories as independent public bodies in 1825) with the regular inspection of the secondary schools, and by strictly

carrying the regulations concerning the Leaving Examination into effect. The ideal of "all-round education" naturally found an uncompromising champion in this disciple of Hegel. He regarded the various subjects as parts of one organic whole, none of which could be left out without seriously impairing its equilibrium and efficiency.

The reorganisation of the higher schools in Prussia thus led to the *Gymnasium* being established as the normal and only type of secondary schools—as a universal institution or "*Einheits-Schule*" preparatory to all branches of university studies alike. In other words, the completion of general education, which had hitherto been the business of the philosophical faculty, was now taken over by the school. Formerly Latin, and perhaps the rudiments of Greek, together with some historical and mathematical knowledge, exhausted the range of learning with which the undergraduate entered the university, where he added to it according to his inclination and ability. But the undergraduate who had passed the Leaving Examination at the new *Gymnasium* not only mastered both classical languages in addition to such historic and humanistic learning as could be acquired by wide reading, but was also well grounded in mathematics and natural science as well as in two modern languages. Thus equipped with the elements of both classical and modern education—educated *sub utraque*, as the phrase goes—he entered the university, equally fitted for all branches of special studies by his philological and mathematical training—philology supplying a key to history as mathematics did to natural science.

Needless to say, such gain had to be paid for. In the first place, this new system of "universal" or "utraquistic" studies necessitated a greater expenditure of time. The course of instruction in

The *Gymnasium* as "*Einheits-Schule*."

Draw-backs.

the secondary schools has been lengthened considerably during the nineteenth century. The average age of the freshmen, which had been seventeen or eighteen years under normal conditions in the eighteenth century, now rose to twenty years. The time, moreover, required by the university studies has also become longer, and thus the entrance into professional life has to be postponed, as things now are, until the second half of the third, and not seldom even until the beginning of the fourth decade of a man's life, which is, in more respects than one, a most unwished-for result. Even the extension of the time spent at school in itself entails manifold difficulties arising out of the incompatibility of the strict forms of school discipline and school teaching with the mature age of the pupils in the upper forms. This somewhat too ripe age of our freshmen has drawbacks quite as serious as those entailed in their former premature admission. What Germany wants is the Anglo-American college, which forms a very valuable transition stage between school discipline and the full freedom of German university life.

"Überbürdung."

Another undesirable result brought about by the new regulations was that great and universal grievance against the schools which has caused endless worry to the educational authorities throughout the nineteenth century—the much-decried "over-taxing." Fr. Thiersch (a pupil of G. Hermann), who reorganised the higher schools in Bavaria on the lines of humanistic monopoly, was the first to raise the cry against the Prussian system of "ultra-quistic" education, accusing it of overstraining the powers of the pupils. During the thirties the first attack was made on sanitary grounds by Dr Lorinser, which was successfully refuted by the educational authorities—the detailed Order of

Studies issued in 1837 was their reply—but nevertheless left a thorn in their sides. During the following period they made serious efforts to cope with this problem. There certainly cannot be any doubt that, in many cases, this overstraining or overtaxing was only too real a fact. Numerous complaints on the part of teachers and pupils bear witness to it. The reasons are obvious. The great number of principal subjects, the daily appointment of and control over the pupils' home work, continued to an advanced stage of school life, the rigorous Leaving Examination—all this concurred in placing an almost unbearable burden on weaker shoulders, while more vigorous and independent minds rebelled against a system which left hardly any room for voluntary and spontaneous activity.

In the policy of secondary education, which was adopted during the following period, marked by the accession of Frederick William IV., two tendencies may be distinguished. Firstly, stress was laid on the element of dogmatic religious instruction, Humanism being denounced as irreligious and un-Christian; and secondly, efforts were made to put an end to the "overtaxing," so frequently complained of, by concentrating the pupils' energy on one principal subject. The reaction against "Enlightenment" and "Realism" led here to an attempt being made at re-transforming the modern *Gymnasium* into the grammar school of the sixteenth century. The alliance between the Humanities and the Gospel, as represented in a former age by Melanchthon, was now again regarded as the ideal of secondary education, in opposition to the "realistic" and encyclopædic tendencies of the preceding period, as well as to the neo-paganism of Wolf and Humboldt. In the Order of Studies issued in 1856, which was

(2) 1840-1870. Attempted return to Melanchthon's ideal under L. Wiese.

drawn up by L. Wiese, these tendencies may be traced, although their influence was confined within narrow limits—the world of actualities turning, as it generally does, a deaf ear to sentimental yearnings for bygone times. The only subject which was seriously curtailed was natural science, as being that part of the modern curriculum which was most suspected for political reasons. In other respects not much bargaining was possible with the requirements of modern times. The efforts to revive the old enthusiasm for Latin verse and prose composition proved abortive, while religion as represented by an obtrusive ecclesiasticism was even less successful in finding open ears and hearts.

Origin of
the *Real-
gym-
nasium*.

It should not be left unmentioned here that while this attempt was being made to restore the original character of the humanistic *Gymnasium* as a purely classical school, a “realistic” *Gymnasium* or semi-classical school grew up side by side with it, and the Order of Studies issued in 1859 may be looked upon as the official birth certificate of the “*Realgymnasium*,” as the new institution was called. In other words, the “*utraquistic*” began to be replaced by the dualistic system of education. About this more will have to be said presently.

(3) 1870-
1900.
Reinstitu-
tion of
Schulze's
ideal under
H. Bonitz
(1882).

During the third period, *i.e.*, the Bismarckian era, the administration of the secondary schools was marked by a progressive adaptation to modern requirements. In 1875 L. Wiese was succeeded by Hermann Bonitz, a Prussian educationist who had already played a prominent part in the reorganisation of the Austrian *Gymnasium* on modern lines. In Austria the old grammar school had been transformed, by the Order of Studies issued in 1849, into a modern secondary school, in which mathematics and natural science formed an important

part of instruction. The appointment of Bonitz to the Prussian ministry marked the end of the endeavours, characteristic of the preceding period, to restore the old clerical character of the *Gymnasium* and to concentrate the teaching on the humanistic side. Natural science regained its former position, whilst Latin was not inconsiderably curtailed, the number of hours devoted to it being reduced from eighty-six to seventy-seven, although the ultimate goal which the pupils were expected to reach remained essentially the same.

This new Order of Studies—(1882), in the main a new edition of that issued by Schulze in 1837 with its ideal of “all-round education,” was short-lived. As a matter of fact it did not give satisfaction to anybody, neither to the advocates of the “realistic” institutions, on which a new name—“*Realgymnasium*”—had been bestowed, but no new privileges, nor to those of a purely classical education, who took exception to Latin (and also Greek) being curtailed. Great expectations were therefore entertained when the Emperor William II. set himself to reform the *Gymnasium*. At the Conference, held in December 1890, the youthful monarch appeared in person, and by his opening speech cast the spell of his will over the transactions of the assembly from the first. The keynote of his speech was sounded by an expression of strong dissatisfaction with the traditional methods of teaching which had become familiar to him while he himself was a pupil of the *Gymnasium* of Cassel. It was not a national education, he said, nor was it adapted to the requirements of modern times. It was bound up with classical antiquity, without furthering, however, true humanistic culture. It was a merely linguistic and grammatical training. The goal of its efforts

William
II. at the
Confer-
ence
of 1890

and the standard of its achievements was the Latin essay in the Leaving Examination.

No doubt the imperial speaker had given utterance to a very considerable section of contemporary public opinion. The great historical events from 1864 to 1871 had not passed without leaving their traces on it, above all on the minds of the generation which had grown up since then. The life of the present had risen in importance and significance, and the increase of the interest that was taken in it had been mainly at the expense of the study of classical antiquity. It was felt to be an anomaly that the pupils of the secondary schools should have to be well informed concerning the history of the Persian or Punic wars, whilst they never heard anything, in school hours at any rate, about the great struggles and achievements of their own nation in their own times, nor about the constitution and social framework of the state to which they belonged, or of the German Empire. No doubt that was how the pupils felt themselves. In their eyes the world of classical antiquity had lost the splendour in which it had once appeared to the generation which had witnessed the brilliant and sudden rise of Neo-Humanism. Indeed, philology itself was in the same position; it had long since passed on from the stage of enthusiasm to that of sober knowledge and research. The interest in classical literature also suffered a depression from movements newly sprung up in the domain of art and poetry, which here again principally appealed to the youthful mind. Apart from that, the general sentiment of the times did not favour any æsthetic sentimentalism. The forces which turned the scale in the age of Bismarck were very different from those which had determined the German national

character in the age of Goethe; the energies which now constituted the decisive factor in political and economic life were of a robuster kind. The younger generation, always eager to anticipate the future, turned its mind to the new world of sports and games, voyages of discovery and colonial conquests, ironclads and motor-cars, technical inventions and scientific discoveries. These were the sentiments of younger Germany which, voiced in the imperial speech, fell upon the ears—it might almost be said were flung in the face—of the Conference, which fancied itself convened for quite different purposes.

The ultimate outcome of its transactions, which were strongly preoccupied by this interlude, was a compromise between the inclination of the assembly to leave things as they were and the forward pressure of the Emperor. If left to itself the final result of its decisions would probably have been a decided refusal to grant to the semi- and non-classical schools the privilege claimed by them of holding an official Leaving Examination giving access to the university, and a still more decided rejection of the proposal to diminish the amount of instruction in the classical languages, or to postpone it to a later period of school life. As matters stood, the result, as embodied in the new Order of Studies, issued in 1892, was as follows. Latin was considerably curtailed, the number of weekly hours falling from seventy-seven as low as sixty-two; the Latin essay, which had only just been extolled as the keystone crowning the arch of all classical studies, was done away with without delay. On the other hand, great stress was laid on German. No one whose accomplishments in German composition and literature could not be classed as "fair" was to be granted the certificate of having passed the Leaving Examination. At the same

The Reform of 1892 an unsatisfactory compromise.

time the latter was made easier in some respects, and the total number of hours of instruction per week was diminished, in order to counteract the "overtaxing" so often complained of. More time was set aside for gymnastic exercises and games, in the interests of physical efficiency. If the Conference had so far taken all the Emperor's hints, the majority, on its part, secured, as a trophy of victory, the maintenance of the monopoly of the classical *Gymnasium*. Those who had gone through semi-classical and modern schools were to remain excluded from the universities, and, what was more, the semi-classical *Realgymnasium* was condemned on principle as a deformed and bastard growth.

(4) The Reform of 1901 : Three recognised types of secondary schools—classical semi-classical and non-classical. (See p. 217.)

The Order of Studies of 1892, inaugurated with such display and carried into effect with such haste, did not outlast one generation of students. As early as in 1901 a new reform—the latest, so far—was undertaken, in which courage was at last found to follow a new path. The monopoly of the *Gymnasium* was abolished, and the education provided by the classical and the semi- and non-classical schools placed on an equal footing. It is to be hoped that, for the time being, a certain stability of equilibrium has been reached in this way. At any rate, the new Order of Studies can boast that there is hardly anyone who still opposes it on principle, whereas against the compromise of 1892 adversaries arose on all sides. The representatives of the semi- and non-classical schools were dissatisfied, nay, indignant, about the flippant way in which the *Realgymnasium* had been denied the right to exist. The representatives of the classical schools found the restriction of the classical studies unbearable—not without good reason, for classical

studies cease to be fruitful unless they are carried on with a broad outlook in an atmosphere of calmness and security. That it was, moreover, impracticable to concentrate the instruction on German, and, still more so, to make German the principal subject of the Leaving Examination, was the unanimous opinion of the educationists. The reform of 1892 had evidently, as I had ventured to predict at the Conference, brought us into a blind alley—the old plan of a single type of school to meet all requirements. It would have been better if at that time, instead of thinking only how to save the monopoly of the *Gymnasium*, we had faced without delay the problem of saving the classical *Gymnasium* itself, *i.e.*, of disburdening it of all foreign elements by opening up a second way—the *via modernorum* alongside the *via antiquorum*.

That was the way taken by the most recent reform, and therefore it seems reasonable to expect that it will last. This reform also was preceded by a Conference (in June 1900), not very different from the former in composition, but which, having before its eyes the mistake committed in 1890, was enabled to arrive at the inevitable decision to grant to the *Realgymnasium* and to the *Ober-Realschule* the same privileges as to the *Gymnasium*, including admittance to the universities. The advocates of classical education had convinced themselves that the only price for which its preservation could be bought was the abolition of the monopoly of the classical *Gymnasium*. It had become clear that a school which aims at monopoly has to provide for all the needs of all classes of pupils, and cannot therefore concede to classical studies alone the space which they require in order to bear proper fruit.

**B. SEMI-
AND NON-
CLASSICAL
SCHOOLS.**

The eighteenth century had already recognised the urgent need for another form of higher school devoted to the requirements of modern life, to natural and historical sciences, and had also called a small number of such institutions into being. During the nineteenth century this type of school has come to form a second prolific branch of the German educational system, collateral with the classical school. I will now touch on the main points of this development.

(1) 1800-
1840.

Here again three periods are plainly distinguishable. The first was the period of the foundation of these schools, its end being marked in Prussia approximately by the first Regulations for the Leaving Examination at the *Realschulen* issued in 1832. Their rapid progress was promoted by two important factors. Firstly, by the emancipation of the middle classes, consequent on the French Revolution and on the ensuing legislation associated with the names of Stein and Hardenberg, and by the economical prosperity of the cities after the peace of Vienna. Secondly, by the separation of the secondary schools in the proper sense from the masses of the old grammar or city schools—a process which was officially started in Prussia by the issue of the Regulations for the Leaving Examination in 1812. The increasing demand for a modern middle-class education was now met by the numerous old grammar schools, which had always served at the same time as schools for the middle classes, although in most cases in a very inadequate way. Some of them were now carried on as *Pro-Gymnasien*,* whilst others were transformed into proper *Bürgerschulen*, *i.e.*, middle-class schools,* by eliminating the classical languages, or at any rate Greek, by introducing French, and by extending the instruction in modern sciences. This

* See Terminological Notes.

transformation was, on the whole, spontaneous, the organisation being left to the initiative of the municipal authorities. On the Rhine these schools had a prototype in the shape of the *collèges communaux* of French origin. For all these reasons their constitution was extremely variable and undetermined, wavering between a superior primary school, a school for artisans, and a school providing a higher general education without the classical languages. During the third decade of last century they began to assume a more definite shape in this latter direction of providing a general education of a modern character. The Prussian Regulations for the Leaving Examination, issued in 1832, exhibit this tendency. The subjects required for the examination were German and French (written as well as *viva voce*), mathematics and natural science, history and geography, with the addition of Latin and English where provision was made for the instruction in these languages. At the same time, the doubtful boon of privileges to be obtained by passing this Leaving Examination was conferred upon these institutions, such as the privilege of serving only one year in the army and access to the higher appointments in the post-office, the Forest department and the architectural profession, the latter, however, only on condition that Latin was taught and required as a subject for the Leaving Examination at the school in question. Nowhere, however, were the modern schools the object of any special favour or concern on the part of the authorities, in the South no more than in the North. It was the time when philologists played the leading part in matters educational, in whose ears the very word *Realschule* had, in many cases, a hateful sound. In Bavaria, Thiersch extolled and preserved the old grammar schools as the palladium of all education.

(2) 1840-
1870.

The second period begins, as far as *Realschulen* in Prussia are concerned, with the year 1840. If the former government had shown them no favour the new government left them in no doubt of its active dislike and aversion. Nevertheless, things followed their course. Latin was now made compulsory, in order to extend the blessings of the discipline of Latin grammar to the pupils of these "realistic" institutions. But when Wiese set about putting into practice those clauses of his Regulations which called for a "concentration" of the teaching administered by the *Gymnasium*, he could not shut his eyes to the fact that a second form of higher school had become indispensable as a complement. The first official Order of Studies for the *Realschulen* was issued in 1859, the year in which, as we have seen, the Prussian *Realgymnasium*—in fact if not in name—came into existence. For the course of the *Realschulen I. Ordnung* * was now extended over nine years and standards, the instruction in Latin being continued throughout, although restricted in the upper stage to three hours a week. To provide a higher general education in a different medium of instruction than that furnished by the classical *Gymnasium* was stated to be their object from the first. As regards privileges, they were placed on the same footing as the *Gymnasium*, excepting the admittance to the university, while they were regarded, on the other hand, as the proper preparatory schools for all branches of technological studies, which had been developed in the meantime. Thus, the *Realschule*, which had aimed at providing a course of preparatory training for practical life, had become a secondary school with a course of the same length as that of the classical schools, and aiming, like them, at a pre-

* See Terminological Notes.

paration for further studies. Side by side with this type of school, it is true, a *Realschule II. Ordnung* remained in existence, with a shorter and more elastic course. But the cities endeavoured, in organising their institutions, to reach the standard of the *Realschule I. Ordnung*, on account of the privileges which it enjoyed.

The prominent feature of the last period, beginning (3) 1870-1900. about 1870, was the long struggle of this new secondary school for the admittance of its pupils to the university, ending with its victory in 1901, when it was officially acknowledged as essentially equal in rank to the classical *Gymnasium*. In 1870 those who had passed the Leaving Examination at a *Realschule I. Ordnung* were for the first time given access to the university, although only to the philosophical faculty, or rather only to one or two of its departments, *i.e.*, to mathematics and natural science and to modern languages, the further restriction being added that a candidate who had passed the teacher's examination exclusively in these subjects could not be appointed as teacher at a *Gymnasium*, but only at a *Realschule I. Ordnung*. What had really led to this measure being taken was not any partiality to the new educational institution, but urgent necessity. It was an expedient resorted to in order to meet the pressing want of teachers for the higher schools, which were rapidly increasing in number after 1866, and shows how little the authorities thought of "realistic" education as well as of secondary teachers in general. A "realistic" education was regarded as inadequate for the "upper" faculties and professions, but as sufficient for secondary teachers, whereas, from the very nature of the case, it ought to have been considered much more suitable for the future student of medicine

and medical practitioner than for the future teacher, above all, for the future student and teacher of modern languages!

An era of embittered struggles now set in. The *Realschule I. Ordnung* could not rest satisfied with this ambiguous position, but was bound to make efforts to see its equality with the *Gymnasium* officially acknowledged by the unrestricted admittance of its pupils to the university studies. The *Realschulmänner-Verein*, an association founded in 1876, carried on this campaign with exceptional energy and perseverance, and in the end won the day. The obstacles were great and manifold. The advocates of the *Gymnasium* stood up for its prerogatives and its monopoly. The universities, under the leadership of the philologists, observed without exception a discouraging attitude; they objected to being lowered to the level of technical high schools. The highest posts in the educational administration were still occupied, for the greater part, by philologists, who argued for the maintenance of the traditional standards of education (*Bildungsniveau*) and for the value of "formative" studies (*Formalbildung*). Lastly, the learned professions themselves were up in arms against the admittance of candidates from non- or semi-classical schools as degrading to their professional honour and dignity, the loudest protests coming from the ranks of the medical profession, which was most immediately concerned. On the other hand, the cause of the *Realschule* was taken up by the students of the technical sciences and the civil engineers, who were jealous of the slight to their profession, especially in comparison with that of the law. In this way the battle swayed to and fro for some decades, and calm discussion of practical necessities of the case could

hardly obtain a hearing. The Order of Studies drawn up by Bonitz in 1882 did not improve this state of things, but rather complicated it further by introducing another new type of higher educational institution with a course of nine years, but without Latin, which was developed out of the *Gewerbe-Schule* (no longer existing) and formed an amplification of the six years' course of the *Realschule II. Ordnung*. This new school was called *Ober-Realschule*. The innovation was probably made partly under the influence of Austria, where two main types of secondary schools had been instituted by the reforms of 1849:—the classical *Gymnasium* with Latin and Greek, and the *Realschule* and *Ober-Realschule* without either. The semi-classical *Realgymnasium* came now to be looked upon as a superfluous cross between these two "pure" types. Accordingly, at the conference held in December 1890, the majority stigmatised it, and recommended its entire abolition. With the silent hope that it was the safest way of securing the monopoly of the *Gymnasium* they extended all the privileges enjoyed by the *Realgymnasium*, including the narrowly-circumscribed admittance of its pupils to the university, to its rival—the *Ober-Realschule*.

The course of events, however, belied these designs. The *Realgymnasium*, assisted by the municipal authorities, not only held its own for the time being, but soon obtained—by the reforms of 1901—the more liberal admittance to the university which it had coveted, although this privilege was now again extended to the (Latinless) *Ober-Realschule*. With the results of the reforms introduced in 1892^o before their eyes, the advocates of the old classical *Gymnasium* had at last come to the conclusion that its monopoly, together with its attempt at providing for

(4) The Reform of 1901. (See p. 210.)

all requirements alike, was bound to lead to the utter ruin of classical studies. And thus those "Decrees" came to be formulated which received imperial sanction by the edict dated the 26th of November 1900, the education provided by the three different types of schools with a nine-years' course being acknowledged in principle to be of equal value.

These general decisions were followed by special regulations for the several departments. In Prussia, to all those who had passed the official Leaving Examination at any school with a nine years' course, first the philosophical faculty was opened, and afterwards that of Law. The admittance to the medical studies, however, which fall within the jurisdiction not of the single states but of the Empire, was extended only to the *Realgymnasium*, not to the *Ober-Realschule*, in which no Latin is taught, while the theological faculties have so far altogether clung to the old order of things in regarding the classical *Gymnasium* as the only institution affording an adequate preparatory education. These restrictions are not unreasonable. No one can attempt a scientific study of theology without knowing both classical languages, nor are medical studies possible at present without some knowledge of Latin. The same might be said, it is true, in regard to juristic as well as philological and historical studies. If the education provided by secondary schools without Latin is nevertheless recognised as an adequate preparation for these branches of learning—which is not the case as yet in all German states, Bavaria for example standing quite aloof so far—it is done from a conviction that every one who goes in for these studies must see for himself, from the very first, that he cannot dispense with some classical knowledge, and in the confidence that he will, accordingly, not hesitate to acquire at

the university any indispensable preliminary accomplishments which he did not gain at school. It is evident that a philologist—no matter whether he devotes himself to ancient or modern languages—cannot advance a single step without Latin and Greek. In the same way a student of law cannot help seeing, from the first moment, that Latin is indispensable to him, for no scientific study of modern law can be carried on independently of Roman Law. Besides, the new Regulations for the Government Examinations also serve to prevent necessary conditions from remaining unfulfilled. Students of medicine and theology, on the other hand, would perhaps be more liable to fall into the mistake of supposing that the classical languages could be dispensed with not only as far as their admittance to the university, but also as far as the pursuit of their studies is concerned, which accounts for the greater precaution taken in their case. This precaution is still more in its place in the department of medicine, where the students are, as a rule, so entirely taken up with their new pursuits from the first that they are not likely to have any time and inclination left for acquiring linguistic knowledge, however indispensable. In the case of theology this danger would seem to be less serious, and thus it may some day come to pass that here, too, ampler scope will be given to the individual judgment. That day will have arrived if ever the numbers of students who wish to enter the theological faculty should be seriously diminished on account of these restrictions—a contingency hardly to be reckoned with for the near future. But apart from this I am inclined to think that the fact that theology essentially belongs to the historical sciences does not make it any the more desirable that a clergyman should be confined to the dim half-lights of a far-off

past. The more his general education is open to the influences of his own times, the better will he be able to influence them in turn, and the less likely to run the risk of shutting himself up in a bygone world.

C. THE
PRESENT
CONSTITU-
TION OF
SECOND-
ARY EDU-
CATION
AND
RECENT
TEND-
ENCIES.

The three
types of
secondary
schools.

In 1901 new regulations were issued, dealing with the studies pursued and the examinations held in all secondary schools of Prussia. Their underlying principle was the co-ordination of three different courses, preparatory to the university, namely: (1) the *Gymnasium*, with both classical languages; (2) the *Realgymnasium*, retaining Latin as the general basis of teaching foreign languages, but otherwise favouring the modern spirit, and concentrating its teaching, in the upper standards, on modern languages and sciences; and (3) the *Ober-Realschule*, which makes French the basis instead of Latin, thus dispensing altogether with the classical languages and restricting its teaching in the main to subjects belonging to the culture of our own times. A common ground for the three types is afforded by the instruction in German, history and religious knowledge — the same directions being given in the official Orders of Studies for all three of them in regard to the teaching of these subjects and its aims. On the other hand, the prevailing tendency of the new organisation of secondary education is to take advantage of the freedom secured by differentiating the three types of schools to concentrate the teaching in each of them on its own special subjects and thereby to develop the full energy and efficiency of these various educational factors. The *Gymnasium*, no longer compelled to satisfy all requirements alike, is again free to lay greater stress on the classical studies, this purpose being served principally by an increase of the hours devoted to Latin (from sixty-two to sixty-eight). The *Ober-Realschule* naturally makes the teaching

of modern sciences its main object, taking pride above all in leading its pupils up to the beginnings of original work in mathematics and natural science. The *Realgymnasium* is somewhat less favourably placed in these respects, being prevented from laying, as it would naturally tend to do, the principal stress on modern languages with their literatures and the general culture of which they form part—not only by the teaching of Latin (which takes up a considerable number of hours throughout the whole course, although no longer in a position to claim the foremost place which it had occupied in the old grammar school) but also by the great demands on the part of mathematics and natural science. It is impossible for a mixed type to avoid such difficulties.

No doubt these reforms of 1900 constitute an Outlook. important and definitive step, which cannot and will not be retraced. It means the final abandonment of the ideal with which the reforms at the beginning of the last century started:—to provide for all requirements by one single type of school with the classical languages as the main subject, but at the same time with sufficient provision for the teaching of modern sciences and languages—a school to be passed through by all who lay claim to higher education, at least, by all those intended for academical studies. It has not proved possible, as J. Schulze thought it was, to shape this curriculum so as to include the modern subjects in a form in which justice can be done to them, without dethroning the classical studies, or at least without trespassing on the room necessary for their proper development. A retransformation of the *Gymnasium* into the old grammar school proving still less possible, nothing was left but a dualistic system, based on a treaty of separation between the classical type and the modern.

That the interests of our whole modern culture are best served by this arrangement does not seem to me to be open to doubt. There are branches of study and learned professions for which the knowledge of the classical languages cannot be dispensed with at all, or only with great difficulty—I mean the historical sciences in the wider sense of the word. But there are other studies and professions—I mean the natural and technological sciences, including medicine—for which other subjects are so essential that they do not leave sufficient room for the teaching of the classical languages, at any rate not for both of them.

It is equally certain, however, that this separation does not represent a permanent or final arrangement. History, indeed, knows nothing of finality. The distance which separates modern culture and science from classical antiquity, and their independence of its authority, will continue to increase in the future as they have done in the past. And the influence of this process on the organisation of educational institutions in Germany will also remain the same; in other words, the secondary schools will continue to emancipate themselves more and more from their original basis, *i.e.*, the study of the ancient languages. For the schools cannot be separated from the general development of culture and civilisation. Originally representing the substance of all higher education, the classical studies were reduced, during the nineteenth century, to the position of one amongst other constituents of higher education, all equally necessary. In the same way the outcome of the future development will be that Latin and Greek will come to be regarded no longer as an indispensable element of higher education, but merely as a necessary implement for certain studies. Indeed, in principle, this

standpoint has already been realised in the latest Regulations.

The esteem, however, in which Latin and Greek were formerly held still forms too potent a factor to permit of the practical conclusions being drawn from this theoretical valuation. For a long time to come the *Gymnasium* will continue to be esteemed as the seat of the soundest and most liberal education. Nevertheless, those practical conclusions will be drawn sooner or later. The number of those who give the preference to the modern type of secondary education will increase, for this if for no other reason, that amongst the undergraduates the number of those who need the *Gymnasium* more than others—I mean students of theology and of classical philology, and perhaps also of law—is stationary or relatively decreasing, whereas the number of those whose wants are better provided for by the semi- and non-classical institutions, *i.e.*, of the technologists and engineers, the natural scientists and medical men, the modern philologists and mathematicians, is continuously increasing, absolutely as well as relatively. The consequence will be that the number of these schools will grow at the expense of the *Gymnasium*, and that transformations of institutions of the latter kind into semi- and non-classical schools—however great obstacles may stand in the way as yet—will become more frequent, until the classical type is represented only by a very limited number of establishments. Nor is there any need to deplore this, for there is no doubt that the high pressure of the old system, the monopoly of privileges, led to a very considerable over-production of purely classical schools, and that, for a long time, this preference checked and even suppressed the development of the modern institutions, including the *Höhere Bürgerschule*.

This also appears from the remarkable advance revealed in the statistics of these institutions since the pressure ceased.

Non-
classical
and semi-
classical
education.

It should further be observed that the rapid increase in the number of non-classical schools—an increase which has partly been at the expense of the semi-classical school (the *Realgymnasium*) in which Latin is taught—is merely the natural consequence of the long-continued suppression of that necessary type of school, and especially of the *Realschule* with a six years' course (*i.e.*, the *Höhere Bürgerschule* proper), but by no means a proof of the superfluous character of the semi-classical institutions. For it cannot be doubted that Latin ceases to be indispensable at a considerably later stage of the development than Greek, and, indeed, I do not hesitate to say that it has not yet ceased to be indispensable to anyone intended for university studies. However superior Greek may be to Latin literature in itself we are much more concerned with the Latin language and literature, extending as it does until well into the eighteenth century. The reason is that, historically speaking, we belong to the great province of Latin civilisation. Until quite recently—in Germany until not much more than one century and a half ago—Latin was the language of the Church, of law, of science and of literature. This is a fact which, in our science, our literature and our language, survives in countless traditions, not to mention the existence of important modern languages which carry on the life of the Latin tongue as its direct descendants. At present, therefore, a secondary education, which includes Latin in its course, must still be considered indispensable for all university students. Indeed, it would not be wrong to say that the *Ober-Realschulen*

(in which no Latin is taught) owe the admission of their pupils to the universities not so much to the intrinsic adequacy of their course of instruction as to the accidental conjunction of opposing policies. In their fanatical hatred against the semi-classical *Realgymnasium*, the advocates of the old purely classical schools had temporarily bestowed their favour upon the *Ober-Realschule*, while the latter enjoyed at the same time the support of the *Realgymnasium*. The voluntary courses in Latin which have lately been instituted here and there in the upper standards of the *Ober-Realschule* also testify to the fact that in a school which means to prepare its pupils for the university Latin cannot be dispensed with.

Possibly this may some day lead to the fusion of the *Ober-Realschule* with the *Realgymnasium*. “*Reform-*
schulen.” The latter would seem to be on the way towards such a development, to judge by the transformation which the instruction in Latin is undergoing in an ever-increasing number of *Realgymnasien* after the model of the so-called *Reformschulen*, in the establishment of which Altona led the way. Their distinguishing feature is that no instruction in Latin is given until *Unter-Tertia* (fourth year), the first foreign language taught being French, which is begun in *Sexta* (first year). Now, if those voluntary courses in Latin at the *Ober-Realschule* were begun at an earlier age the difference between both types of schools might be reduced to a minimum, so that they could be merged, wherever that seemed desirable, into a single institution, comprising the courses of the *Realgymnasium* and the *Ober-Realschule*—Latin being treated as a voluntary subject. A further development in that direction would, it is true, increase the distance between the course of the classical *Gymnasium* and that of the

other secondary schools. But, on the other hand, the *Ober-Realschulen* and *Realschulen* would then enjoy increased facilities for their pupils to pass on to university studies, which would make these schools more popular, and this would, no doubt, be a highly desirable result. For there are still far too many who, instead of completing their school education at a *Höhere Bürgerschule*, now crowd the lower and middle classes of the *Gymnasien* and *Realgymnasien*, leaving the school when the course in the classical languages, or at least in Latin, is but half finished. This is very detrimental, not only to the pupils but also to the schools themselves, on whose work they act as a drag and a deadweight.

Mention having thus been made of the *Reformschulen*, a few words may be added concerning a similar modification of the *Gymnasien*, first introduced at Frankfort-on-the-Main and since then adopted by a considerable number of schools. Here Latin is begun in *Unter-Tertia*, Greek in *Unter-Sekunda* (sixth year), a large number of school-hours being devoted to these subjects up to the end. The objections raised against this new type are twofold. On the one hand, the philologists apprehend lest the course in the classical languages thus shortened should no longer prove able to reach its goal, and in the end die of its own sterility. On the other hand, fears are expressed lest the excessive amount of time and energy devoted to the classical languages during the last school years should render the instruction in mathematics and the natural sciences abortive. Notwithstanding all such apprehensions, however, I consider it probable that this new type of the *Gymnasium* will spread. The closer connection with the other secondary schools, as established by a common elementary stage, is a

gain which, in the long run, the *Gymnasium* will not be in a position to forego. Besides, I should consider it as an advantage rather than otherwise if Latin were begun at a later stage. The elementary instruction in Latin, begun as it is at present at a too juvenile age, when the mental powers are still insufficient, and then dragged on over too long a time, has no small share in producing the distaste against which the instruction in the classical languages labours in so many cases. This instruction more than any other needs fewer and riper pupils.

Here again a few statistical data may be welcome. Statistics. There existed in Prussia

In the year.	Gymnasien.	Pro-Gymnasien.	Real-gymnasien.	Real-Pro-Gymnasien.	Ober-Real-schulen.	Real-schulen.
1835,	112	24	(12)	...	...	...
1855	124	28	(54)	...	...	...
1875	228	33	80	91	...	17
1885	259	38	89	86	14	36
1895	273	45	86	74	24	73
1905	324	39	100	27	50	158

In the time-tables for the various types of secondary schools we find the following figures for the year 1901:—

	Gymnasium.	Real-gymnasium.	Ober-Real-schule.	Reform-Gymnasium.	Reform-Real-gymnasium.
Religious instruction	19	19	19	19	19
German	26	28	34	31	29
Latin	68	49	...	52	36
Greek	36	...	...	31	...
French	20	29	47	31	37
English . . . . .	...	18	25	...	22
History	17	17	18	} 26	38
Geography	9	11	14		
Arithmetic & Mathematics	34	42	47	35	44
Natural science	18	29	36	19	29
Writing	4	4	6	4	4
Drawing	8	16	16	8	16

Instruction
in the
upper
forms.

In conclusion, a few observations may be offered concerning some tendencies of a general character which have lately made themselves felt in secondary education. In the first place may be mentioned recent endeavours on the part of the educational authorities which have an intimate connection with the efforts, just described, to provide an ampler scope for spontaneous progress by the differentiation of school curricula—I mean their endeavours to provide a wider scope for the special gifts and individual inclinations of the pupils within the various types of secondary schools by a freer organisation of the instruction in the upper stage. In the Leaving Examination it had long been recognised in principle that all pupils cannot attain to the same results in all subjects, in other words, superior attainments in some subjects were accepted as a compensation for less satisfactory results in another. No heed, however, had been paid to that view in regard to the instruction itself. But now a tendency is making itself felt to introduce spontaneous differentiation in the upper forms of schools so as to make it possible for each individual pupil to devote himself more particularly to any part of learning that constitutes his forte. In the *Gymnasium*, for example, those who have particular gifts for the classical languages and take a great interest in them, but are unable, for lack of interest or ability, to keep up with the instruction in mathematics, would no longer be compelled to bestow uncongenial and fruitless labour on the latter. In a separate class, arranged specially for poor mathematicians, they could be taught what lies within their grasp. In the same way, however, more freedom and a wider scope of development would have to be provided for those who have exceptional gifts for mathe-

metics and natural science. A select class would have to be formed, where they might be able and would be expected to reach a more advanced stage, dispensation being granted in return—say from exercises in Latin prose composition. Such arrangements, which are possible in all three types of secondary schools, would, of course, not aim at enabling those who have no natural talents at all—not to speak of those who are idle and indolent—to come to terms with the requirements of the school and to scrape through the examination, but rather at inciting each individual talent to its greatest achievements. In the place of the uniform routine of performing a set task, the pupil would have to evince a passionate zeal in excelling in the subject of his choice, and whoever failed in doing so would have to be expected to come up to the average standard in all subjects. Such arrangements could not be subject to general regulations, but would have to depend in each case on special circumstances, an insight into which could not be found outside the body of teachers. They would at the same time form the most reliable, or, indeed, perhaps the only possible, remedy for that peculiar distaste or school-weariness, attributed to “overtaxing,” which has so long been weighing on our schools. In this way the instruction in the upper forms would become somewhat more similar to university teaching, and this would also help in bridging over the chasm now yawning between the strict control at school over each pupil’s work and the liberty and spontaneous initiative which forms the principle of academical studies. Nor would this be a small gain; for the leap from unslackened leading-strings to absolute liberty is always dangerous and often disastrous.

The
secondary
teachers.

The possibility of such a reorganisation, which would, of course, have to be very gradual, depends, in its turn, on the scholarly character of the secondary teacher, since only he who himself takes some original share in scientific work can induce spontaneous intellectual activity in others. From this standpoint the further endeavours of the educational authorities to preserve and strengthen this scholarly character of the secondary teacher appear in their true perspective. This end is served in the first place by the institution of special university lectures for teachers, with a view to keeping them abreast with the latest progress in all branches of learning. Further, by allowing them leisure for original contributions to scientific knowledge on a larger scale—in the shape of leave of absence or partial release of the regular school-work, of travelling-scholarships and pecuniary assistance for the purpose of publishing books, etc. All this concurs in preserving that atmosphere of original scholarship which, in Germany, has always been peculiar to the secondary school, although it seemed momentarily threatened by the rise of the non-classical secondary institutions, developed as they are out of higher grade primary schools.

Instruc-
tion in
phil-
osophy.

Mention should be made in conclusion of the endeavours which are at work in many places to reintroduce instruction in philosophy into the secondary schools. From the days of the mediæval *Facultas Artium* until well on in the era of Enlightenment, philosophy had formed the principal subject of the preparatory course of studies, as administered by the faculty of Arts or of Philosophy. But, after the provision of this general groundwork of education was taken over from the university by the school, philosophy was dropped. Various adverse circum-

stances concurred in bringing about this result. The reason put forward by the school for doing away with the instruction in philosophy was that it was already overburdened with an abundance of subjects, many of which, it was urged, afforded occasional opportunities for treating of the philosophical sciences in a manner which could take the place of, or at least form an introduction to, methodical instruction. Thus, in grammar, some reference had to be made to logic, in physics to natural philosophy, in history and literature to psychology, in Latin and Greek to ethics and metaphysics, the philosophers of classical antiquity being amongst the authors whose books are read at school. Under these circumstances, it was argued, systematic teaching of philosophy must be left to the university. But this bill, drawn on the latter, was met in an ever-diminishing degree. The extension of the course of the *Gymnasium* and the simultaneous transformation of the philosophical faculty into a faculty providing special professional studies like the three others had the result that it became more and more usual for the undergraduates of the higher faculties, at least those of Medicine and Law, at once to take up professional studies when they entered the university. Besides, philosophy itself was temporarily in disfavour. In consequence of all this a great number of students at German universities now do not come in contact with philosophy at all, and a deplorable lack of familiarity with the ultimate problems of existence and life is, accordingly, to be found amongst the educated classes, even amongst those who have received an academical education. Vague scepticism, materialism of the most superficial description, eclecticism, void of any philosophical principles, uncritical submission to every latest craze in the garb of philo-

sophy—such are the consequences of the disappearance of philosophy and its clarifying influence from the school. That this state of things cannot be left unaltered is a conviction continually gaining ground. What is wanted is a philosophical instruction in the upper stage of the secondary schools, passing on from logic to the elementary problems of the theory of knowledge, from psychology to the main problems of metaphysics, and also taking note of the principal questions relative to the general view of the world and life, perhaps on the basis of carefully-selected reading-matter. Such instruction, given by a teacher who has the necessary qualifications, and to whom it is a congenial task, could not only feel certain of the warmest interest on the part of the pupils, but would also throw a bridge over the yawning chasm which now gapes between a conception of reality based exclusively on natural science, and the theological system adhered to in the school side by side with that view. It could not, of course, be a question of teaching natural religion, but all philosophical teaching would certainly go to show that the world of reality cannot be adequately accounted for by a brief outline of physical cosmology and of the theory of evolution. Some instruction in philosophy would seem particularly indispensable to the semi- and non-classical institutions, where it is perhaps more necessary to emphasise the humanistic standpoint than in the classical *Gymnasium*, in order to preclude that narrow and bigoted view according to which the world of reality can ultimately be reduced to problems in mathematical physics.

D. HIGHER
SCHOOLS
FOR
GIRLS.
Historical
survey.

In mediæval times the nunneries afforded, as we have seen, an opportunity for the female sex to share the general education of the times. The Reforma-

tion abolished those establishments and thus left a gap in the educational system. The secondary schools and universities were now organised as institutions devoted to the training of members of the learned professions, and women, being excluded from the latter, also remained excluded from the universities and from higher education in general. Primary education alone, which was slowly and gradually organised from the sixteenth century, was open to both sexes alike, at least in principle, whilst, as a matter of fact, the girls would seem to have remained, as a rule, considerably below the mark, not only as regards their attendance but also their achievements. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this state of things remained, on the whole, unchanged. In the era of courtly culture special educational institutions for girls of the higher classes were planned and attempted here and there, but without any lasting success. It may be assumed, however, that, amongst the gentry, it was the rule for the daughters to take part, in some degree, in the private instruction by governesses and tutors which was usually enjoyed by the sons. In the Roman Catholic territories the training and teaching of girls in its more advanced stage was provided for in a measure by the religious Orders, especially those of the Ursulines and the Salesians. This absence of adequate provision for the higher education of women partly accounts for the fact that German society was, until well into the eighteenth century, a society of men. The *Salon*, which played so prominent a part in the society of Paris, never was really acclimatised in Germany; and it is not until the close of the eighteenth century, in the golden age of German literature, that we meet with the first attempts at introducing it.

The nine-
teenth
century.

Under the influence of the great movement for the reform of education which set in about the same time, a desire on the part of the other sex to have a share in the new literary culture led, after the beginning of the nineteenth century, to the establishment of a considerable number of public schools for girls, aiming at a higher goal—some of them municipal institutions, others private undertakings. The first training colleges for women teachers were also called into being about that time, to many of which higher schools for girls were attached. These various institutions differed considerably in regard to the Order of Studies and the number of classes. Their common distinguishing feature, as compared with the primary schools, was the teaching of foreign languages, mostly French and English. While resembling in this respect the *Höhere Bürgerschule* for boys, they pursued much more modest aims in mathematics and natural science, their goal being a general culture of a predominantly æsthetic and literary character.

The last
generation.

During the last generation the great and all-embracing women's rights movement has also affected the public educational arrangements for girls. As an outcome of the new development woman demands, and has, indeed, to a not inconsiderable degree, already obtained her share in professional life. Whilst formerly the higher schools for girls had no further aim than a "general education" for domestic and social purposes, it has now become their object to provide, in addition to that general education, the necessary groundwork for scientific and professional training. This was the guiding principle of the first General Regulations for the Higher Schools for Girls and the Examination of Women Teachers in Prussia, which were issued

in 1894. As a rule, the higher schools for girls were to consist of nine classes: but older institutions, comprising ten classes, were allowed to remain in existence. An official examination was instituted for higher female teachers—either in languages and literature or in mathematics and natural science, according to their own choice. At the same time a prospect was held out that these higher female teachers should in future be more extensively employed in the upper stage, side by side with the male teachers. In principle this also implied the promise that women should be admitted to the university studies—a step which was indeed taken before the nineteenth century closed, despite all opposition to this measure, which was particularly obstinate in Germany. In some territories, as in Baden and Bavaria, women are matriculated in the ordinary way; in others they are only admitted as guests. The latter method is still adhered to in Prussia, which implies that it is left to the discretion of each university lecturer to admit or exclude women students—a restriction which can hardly be reconciled with the admission of women to the official Leaving Examination. No settled order of studies for girls, preparatory to the university, has been established so far. Side by side with informal courses of instruction a few *Gymnasien* for girls have been called into being, their course of instruction branching off from that of the higher school for girls in the middle stage, about the age of thirteen years, with an order of studies similar to that of the *Reform-Realgymnasium*. A new order of things is imminent. It is now contemplated to continue the ten years' course of the higher school for girls—the *Lyzeum*—by a four years' course in a new and independent institution—the *Ober-Lyzeum*. Whether in the form of a separate institution, how-

ever, or in external connection with a *Lyzeum*, this *Ober-Lyzeum* is not to follow a rigid and uniform course of studies like that of the *Gymnasium* for boys, but a variety of courses are to be offered for the students to choose between. There is to be a normal course, essentially similar to that of the *Ober-Realschule*, laying the principal stress on modern languages and sciences. A second course is to include Latin, a third Greek in addition to Latin—dispensation being granted from other subjects, say one modern language, or a shorter course of only three hours being substituted in mathematics. One might look upon it as a development in the direction of the Anglo-American College, representing an independent upper stage of secondary education and affording some scope for the free choice of subjects. Possibly the new *Ober-Lyzeum* is destined to give also the further development of the *Gymnasium* for boys its direction.

III. PRIMARY EDUCATION

Previous
periods.

In the history of the Primary Schools in Germany three principal periods must be distinguished:—(1) the era of the foundation of the primary school as an annex of the Church (until 1648); (2) the era of the institution of State control over the primary school and of compulsory attendance (1648-1800); (3) the era of the development of the primary school into a real institution for the education of the people (the nineteenth century). The latter has now to be treated of.

“*Aufklärung*”
Pestalozzi.

The modern primary school in Germany has its roots in the era of Enlightenment. The great educational reform movement towards the close of the eighteenth century bore its most generous fruits

in this department of education. It was Pestalozzi who determined the aim of the development of the primary school and found the way by which it could be attained. This ideal aim—the raising of each human being to the level of a free and intellectually as well as morally independent personality—is the same which is so eloquently set forth by Kant in his ethics. Every human or rational being having a right to freedom and independence, it is a sin against the dignity of man, against humanity itself, to try to keep anyone in the dependence of childhood, or even to withhold from him the means of building up for himself an independent personality. The way leading to this goal, the education of man for freedom, consists in the practice of his natural powers. It is for the educator to awaken and stimulate these dormant powers and to find adequate opportunities for their exercise. The old method of forcing knowledge upon passive minds by sheer compulsion, through a process of learning by heart and endless repetition, can never result in true education. The intellectual faculties of perception, judgment and reasoning can only be developed by their spontaneous exercise. And the same is to be said of the moral powers. Here, too, it is necessary to foster the organic and spontaneous development of the moral judgment and the moral will into true moral culture—the embracing of what is good and right by the individual's own free will.

It was the collision with the French Revolution, and the general collapse of old-established institutions resulting from it, which paved the way for the realisation of these ideas on a large scale—political necessity adding its weight to the zeal of educational reformers. However far the progress of this great movement remained behind the highly-

Consequences of the French Revolution. Regeneration of Prussia.

strung expectations with which Germany's leading men had viewed its beginnings, it must be credited with at least one great achievement. It mobilised all the national forces of our French neighbours, thus giving their country, powerless and paralysed as it had only just been, an aggressive impetus which ruthlessly shattered the old states of the Continent. The terrible downfall of Prussia came to it as a most effective warning that nothing but the full development and the unsparing self-devotion of all its national forces would suffice to restore its power, nay, to save the whole German people from utter ruin. This conviction formed the keynote of the great national uprising. The cause of the disaster that has befallen us—in this belief all those who staked their energies and lives on the restoration of the State were at one—is the helpless dependence of the people, their absolute subordination to authority, and the coldness and indifference towards their State and their country which naturally results therefrom. If the State and the nation are to be restored at all, they thought, the State must cease to be looked upon exclusively as a concern of the dynasty, and must come to be regarded as quite as much an affair of the people themselves. But this could only be accomplished by rousing the people from the passive lethargy engendered by the public police supervision, and the still more disgraceful private subjection to the great landowners, and by making them active co-operators in public affairs—in short, by raising mere subjects, and, indeed, subjects of subjects, to the level of free citizens of the State. And this again implied that the masses must shake off the fetters of intellectual and moral dependence, to which they had been kept subjected by State,

Church and school alike, and become independent personalities, acting according to their own free will.

It was at this point that the Prussian statesmen and the Swiss reformer of education met each other. For this was the very thing that was advocated by Pestalozzi—to rouse the masses from their passive indolence and to form them into free personalities, intellectually and morally independent. Even before this the attention of the government had been drawn to Pestalozzi, especially by Plamann. But now all eyes were centred on him. Baron von Stein himself often refers in his memorials to Pestalozzi's method, which, he says, encourages the spontaneous activity of the intellect and arouses the religious feelings and the nobler instincts, thus enlarging the sphere of ideal interests and diminishing the craving for a life of sensual enjoyment. Nicolovius and Süvern had long been intimately connected with Pestalozzi. Fichte, in his *Addresses to the German Nation*, had placed him side by side with Luther as a national saviour. In this spirit a number of young men were sent to Ifferten by the educational authorities. According to their official instructions, which were drawn up by Süvern, they were not only to learn there the routine of Pestalozzi's method, but their hearts were "to be kindled by the holy fire of power and of love which glows in the bosom of that great man, whose actual achievements still fall short of his real intentions, and of which his method is but a feeble emanation or residue."

These lines, and, indeed, the whole correspondence exchanged between Berlin and Ifferten during the years of 1809-1811, give a pathetic expression to that ardent and passionate belief in a fundamental

Pestalozzi's influences.

Fichte.

regeneration of human nature which was characteristic of the time. For there never was a time so sincerely confident, so enthusiastically sanguine about the future, and so eager to devote itself body and soul to the raising of the coming generations, as that period of the deepest humiliation of the German people. Nothing seemed impossible to an earnest will. Fichte's *Addresses* breathed the same spirit. He set all his hopes for Germany on a new national system of education. One German state was to lead the way in establishing it, making use of the same right of coercion to which it resorted in compelling its subjects to serve in the army, and for the exercise of which certainly no better justification could be found than the common good aimed at in national education. In this way the children were to be rescued from the corrupt influences of society, and to be educated in public institutions, where they were to receive intellectual as well as practical training. This, Fichte urged, was what the time really demanded, and without which the nation could not be saved. "Twenty-five years hence that better generation of which we stand in need might be in existence," if serious steps were taken forthwith to put this plan into execution. There would then be no longer, he said, any poor, any mob, any criminals. The State would no longer have to spend its money for a separate army, since all men would be born and trained defenders of their country, and the latter would be invincible. In the same way, "all branches of economy will, in a short time and without much trouble, attain to such a flourishing state as has never been witnessed yet, and the State, if it must needs calculate, will gain interest a thousandfold on this its first investment."

This may suffice to give a general idea of the prevailing sentiment of the age—of that true exaltation to which we owe the reorganisation of primary teaching. The new influences soon made themselves felt everywhere. Unofficial courses were instituted in Brandenburg and Prussia—in the first place for clergymen, and by them again for teachers—in order to introduce the new methods into practice as quickly as possible. In Eastern Prussia these endeavours were encouraged by Zeller, the superintendent of the orphanage at Königsberg. ^{(1) 1800-1840.}

The peace of Vienna was followed by an era of quiet and fruitful work, lasting until 1840. Above all, the proper training of teachers was seriously and zealously taken in hand. Quite a number of training colleges were founded and organised, to be conducted according to the principles of Pestalozzi by eminent men, such as W. Harnisch, whose field of work lay at Breslau and Weissenfels, and A. Diesterweg, who was headmaster successively of the training colleges of Mörs and Berlin. The material means were in most cases scanty enough; but the ardent belief in the great cause helped in surmounting that difficulty. The leading men succeeded in instilling their own love and confidence into the minds of their younger colleagues. The increasing prosperity of the training colleges and the primary schools was due to the earnest and elevating belief that it was a sacred duty to provide a proper training of youth, a true education of the whole people. A passage from a memorial drawn up by Süvern in 1817 may stand as another example of the sentiments prevailing in government circles at the beginning of this period: "The State is not founded on the dead forces of Nature, but on living forces which are capable of infinite growth and ^{Training colleges.} ^{Süvern.}

development. All the State has to do is to cultivate these latter—especially during the critical period which is decisive as to their prosperity or decay. Those other forces will then grow of themselves, without any considerable expense of material means, in vigour, number and strength. And thus the steady growth of the State itself, in value, dignity and power within and without, will be the certain result of this soundest of speculations, which is bound to bear interest in cash without fail, and the more abundantly if not at once.”

Reaction-
ary tend-
encies :
Frederick
William
III.

In the highest quarters, it is true, a reaction soon made itself felt. Presumably Frederick William III. had never fully shared his councillors' enthusiasm for the education of the people, and now he allowed himself to be alienated by evil advisers from the national spirit, and to be dissuaded from his belief in his people and the value of the spontaneous co-operation of the individual in State affairs. Following the real bent of his nature, he drifted into the current of Metternich's policy. Austria was perhaps the only country in which that policy could work; but, if applied to Prussia, it could only result in Prussia's renunciation of its dignity and of its national mission. At this fatal juncture Metternich became the guiding spirit of Prussian politics instead of Baron von Stein. This fact is responsible for all the troubles and humiliations which ensued. It necessitated the events of 1848, and its baneful consequences have not really been overcome to this day.

Baron von
Altenstein.

When the new ministry for public worship and instruction was instituted in 1817, with Baron von Altenstein as its head, Süvern soon lost the control over further developments. His comprehensive Education Bill of 1819 never became law; it died

of endless amendments and qualifications. The energy for the execution of great ideas had evaporated. The stimulating and encouraging attitude on the part of the authorities was replaced by the timid policy of the drag and the brake. The king's anxiety lest there should be too much education found ill-humoured expression in official decrees. Thus Altenstein, who had confessed at a former time, when he was swimming with the stream, that he had found in Fichte's *Addresses* the consummation of his own philosophy, announced, in a circular rescript in 1822, that His Majesty "could not but approve of the zealous endeavours for the cause of primary education, but, at the same time, wished to point out that a line must be drawn somewhere, as otherwise the masses might be turned into half-educated sciolists, quite unfit for their future vocation." At a time when the primary schools were only just on the point of being taken over by trained teachers from the hands of third-rate tailors and disabled soldiers, this certainly would seem to have been a gratuitous apprehension.

Fortunately, it was a long way from government decrees to schools and training colleges, even longer at that time than now, and, moreover, under the old *regime*, the intermediate bureaucracy probably also offered a greater force of resistance than the officials of our own days, weakened as they are by political party strife. The provincial authorities were still animated by the old spirit, nor was it altogether discarded by the ministry itself. Personally, Altenstein was perhaps not a great and powerful mind, but still he was a highly-educated man, anything but partial to obscurantist endeavours. The attempts of the reactionary party at purging the ministry of councillors obnoxious to them also proved abortive.

Steady
progress.

Consequently, the quiet work in schools and training colleges was, on the whole, allowed to proceed without interruption. The political disturbances, which weighed so heavily on the universities, hardly affected them at all. In 1840, at the end of Altenstein's administration, there were in Prussia thirty-eight training colleges and seven auxiliary training colleges, with many excellent masters, who were generally inspired by Pestalozzi's ideas. These establishments were not tied from the first to a hard-and-fast order of studies, but allowed to choose their own models and to work out their own salvation. Their object was twofold—to equip the future teacher with the learning required by his profession, and to initiate him in the art of teaching. The former task occupied the first two years of the whole course, which extended, as a rule, over three years. In these two years their knowledge in all branches of learning falling within the sphere of the primary schools had to be increased in scope and depth on the basis of the education they had themselves received at a primary school. The other task was the main object of the third and last year. For this purpose all training colleges had practising schools attached to them, where the future teachers first attended the instruction given by older teachers as visitors and then began to practise the art of teaching themselves under their guidance.

Herbart's
theory of
education

The development of the theory of education, which is primarily connected with the name of Herbart, formed another important factor. At the universities the theory of education now came to be recognised as a regular branch of teaching, some of them even devoting a special *Seminar* to the new science. The masters at the training colleges, who had received their own education at a university, handed this

new psychological theory of education down to the primary teachers. To both of them "Herbart's theory of education" and "the scientific theory of education" were, for a long time, synonymous terms. It was a theory which satisfied their dogmatic bent by its clear definitions, while, at the same time, its neutral attitude towards the antagonistic political and religious parties of the time paved the way for its general adoption. There can be no doubt as to the important part it played. Above all, it stimulated philosophical reflection on didactic problems.

The second period began with the year 1840.^{(2) 1840-1870.} The stagnation and reaction which, at this period, ^{Reaction.} characterised the whole life of the State did not fail to have their effects in the sphere of primary education. The Ministry of Public Worship and Instruction was held successively by Eichhorn, Raumer and Mühler. High politics, by which elementary education had so far hardly been affected at all, were now also introduced into the domain of training colleges and primary schools. The educational administration was marked by a pronounced distrust of the teachers and a profound aversion to "over-education." The closing of the training college of Breslau and the dismissal of Diesterweg from his office as head master of the municipal training college of Berlin (1847) were symptoms of this spirit. Bitter reproaches were everywhere heaped upon the elementary teachers. They were accused of half-education, rationalistic conceit, unbelief, arrogance and insubordination. Indeed, Frederick William IV. thought he had found here the root of all evil. In a conference of masters of Prussian training colleges, held in 1849, he unburdened his soul: "You and you alone are to blame for all the misery which the last year has brought upon Prussia! The irreligious

Frederick
William
IV.

pseudo-education of the masses is to be blamed for it, which you have been spreading under the name of true wisdom, and by which you have eradicated religious belief and loyalty from the hearts of my subjects and alienated their affections from my person. This sham education, strutting about like a peacock, has always been odious to me. I hated it already from the bottom of my soul, before I came to the throne, and, since my accession, I have done everything I could to suppress it. I mean to proceed on this path, without taking heed of any one, and, indeed, no power on earth shall divert me from it!" Whether the king actually used these very words or not there is no doubt that they adequately express his sentiments and ideas. It must be said that no one ever threw his own sins on other shoulders with greater rancour and injustice than the Prussian ruler did in this case. And it may be added that, altogether, no age ever passed judgment on its predecessor with greater rancour and injustice than the age of Reaction and Romanticism did on the era of Enlightenment.

Stiehl's
 "Regu-
 lative" for

These prevailing ideas received official formulation in the ill-famed Regulations (usually quoted as the "*Regulative*") drawn up by Ferdinand Stiehl and issued in 1854. They were concerned with the training colleges and the primary schools, and represented the first attempt at making all these institutions conform to a settled Order of Studies, since hitherto an ample freedom had been enjoyed in that respect by the different territories and the individual establishments. The object of the new regulations was to counteract "over-education" and to restore the old simplicity of primary instruction. Everything that went beyond the essential and indispensable subjects which constituted Protestant elemen-

tary teaching in the age of the Reformation—reading, writing, a little arithmetic, and religious instruction in strict accordance with the creed of the Church—was considered at best superfluous, if not directly injurious, and was, therefore, to be permitted only with reserve. The leading ideas were identical with those of the first reaction against *Aufklärung* under Frederick William II. The “Regulations for Teachers at Village Schools and Elementary Schools in Towns,” which were issued in that reign by Wöllner, ordained that reading, the Catechism, the Bible (readiness in turning up chapter and verse) and hymns were to be treated as the chief subjects, besides which the children were to acquire “a tolerably legible hand and some practice in the simplest calculations, indispensable for everyday domestic use.” “Accordingly,” we further read in sec. 2, “attention is to be devoted principally to the forementioned subjects, and certainly no teacher will be permitted, while neglecting or treating carelessly those principal subjects, to touch upon matters belonging to natural history or geography.” Such words as these might just as well have served as a preamble to Stiehl’s Regulations, except that there the idea was dressed up in sanctimonious language.

Naturally, the first step was to bring down the training colleges, which were looked upon as the source of all the evil, to what was considered their proper level. In all branches of learning the instruction was curtailed in every direction; it seemed to be the general opinion that a teacher need not learn much more than what he had afterwards to teach himself. Training colleges were to turn out teachers, not would-be men of learning—that was the ever-recurring refrain! It was expressly stipulated that, beyond the subjects described here

the training colleges and

as necessary and sufficient, nothing was to be taught without the special permission of the ministry. "The object of the training college is not to provide an education such as may be acceptable to a superior municipal school, but to equip the teacher with such knowledge and skill as are necessary for keeping an ordinary elementary school consisting of one single class." The Regulations for the different subjects were of a similar character. "Whatever may have been taught hitherto," we read, "under the names of theory of education, didactics, anthropology, or psychology, is to be expunged from the syllabus" and to be replaced by a simple instruction in "school knowledge." Further, religious instruction, which had so far borne the title of "Christian knowledge," was henceforth to be styled "Instruction in the Catechism," and to "be based on a compendium, fully containing everything the future teacher had to know word for word."

In the same way instruction in German was to be restricted to the most indispensable elements and to be based on a primer. The "so-called [German] Classics" were to be excluded even from private reading! The Regulations concerning history and geography, natural history and natural science, breathed the same spirit.

Even in mathematics and arithmetic the utmost limitation was to be the rule, lest the demon of pride might, after all, find an entrance here! Such simple matters as the use of decimal fractions and the extraction of the square root were considered as lying beyond the ken of the primary teacher and "to be permitted only in exceptional cases, but not unless special circumstances made it really advisable." Let it be well understood that all these regulations referred to the training colleges, not to the primary

schools! And just about that time, in the excellent elementary school of my home in Schleswig (then under Danish control)—it was the second elementary school that I attended—we were taught not only how to extract cubic roots with unlimited decimals but even the elements of algebra and geometry! All these subjects, hitherto paraded by the training colleges, were now treated as forbidden fruit, and religious instruction (in the creed of the Church) was made the corner-stone of all teaching. What was required was, in the first place, a ready command—learning by heart was recommended as the most appropriate way of obtaining it—of an extensive range of scriptural stories and texts, bible lessons, psalms and hymns. Exact figures were given in the Regulations for the preparatory training schools, it being made a condition of the admission of their pupils to the training college that they must know fifty hymns, eighteen psalms, the stories of the Old and the New Testament, and, of course, the Catechism. They were recommended to go through these again and again during the following years, so as to have them always at command. The masters at the training colleges were further enjoined to make a point of restricting themselves to what was to be found in the recognised text-book, and not to add anything of their own; from their souls, too, the demon of pride was to be expelled! It further deserves mention that there was a tendency to locate the training colleges in the country or in smaller towns and to organise them as boarding-schools—all these measures being, of course, intended to preserve the future teacher, as far as possible, from the influences of the “pestilential spirit of the time!”

Similar tendencies were dominant in the Regulations for the elementary schools. The village the elementary schools.

school, consisting of one single class, was represented as their normal type. Religious instruction, with an ample measure of learning by heart, formed the principal subject, all others being confined to the narrowest limits. "Where circumstances permit," we read in the Regulations, "three hours a week may be devoted to imparting to the children some general knowledge about their country and about natural history, and one hour to drawing." The "formative" method, aiming at the development of the natural powers, was rejected, learning by heart and mechanical repetition being reinstituted as the standard type of all teaching. It was represented to be its object not to encourage independent judgment and reasoning—*bien raisonner*, as Frederick the Great called it—but to provide the mind with "a valuable and worthy content." A man who thinks too much is dangerous—that is the general maxim which may be read between the lines in every single paragraph of these regulations. In conclusion, their author recapitulated their purport as follows: "All school teaching is to be governed without exception by two fundamental principles. Firstly, instead of a one-sided development of the faculty and the forms of abstract reasoning, an appropriate and worthy content of instruction is to be provided. Secondly, this content, which must in no case be allowed to transcend the limits of what can be fully grasped by the intellect, forms the material on which the natural powers have to be exercised until full skill and proficiency has been reached." There is no doubt that these general principles are open to a sound and sensible interpretation and application. But neither can it be doubted that, according to the interpretation which was meant, and indeed given, in these Regulations

themselves, they aimed at lowering the intellectual level of the primary teachers and the standard of the elementary schools, and were generally understood in that sense.

The close of this era of reaction marks the beginning of the third and last period in the history of primary education in Prussia. The revival of the endeavours, described as characteristic of the first period, the return to the principles of Pestalozzi's theory of education, formed its main feature. During the sixties the Prussian state, under the guidance of a powerful statesman, roused itself from a prolonged lethargy to vigorous self-assertion in the world. It was Bismarck who gained for Prussia the undisputed leadership amongst the German states, and who regained at the same time courage and strength for the German people to take their proper place amongst the nations of the earth. These events were closely connected with a fundamental change in domestic policy. The only maxim of domestic politics which it is possible to adopt for a nation embracing a spirited attitude in foreign affairs is to develop all gifts of Nature to their highest efficiency, in order to devote them to the service of the whole community. It may be seen everywhere, throughout the course of history, that a timid and weakly foreign policy is always coupled with repression and stagnation in the domain of domestic affairs, whilst vigorous self-assertion of a nation in the world always goes hand-in-hand with the endeavour to make room for the free development of all the inward forces of national life. A State which has a good conscience and believes in itself and its worth has also confidence in its people. On the other hand, a State without confidence in itself is afraid of its own subjects.

(3) 1870-1900.
New progress.
Bismarck.

Dr Falk.
Schnei-
der's
" *Allge-
meine
Bestim-
mungen* " for

In the sphere of educational politics these changes found a visible expression in the appointment of Dr Falk to the Ministry of Public Worship and Instruction in 1872. Ferd. Stiehl was now succeeded in his post as Director of the Department of Primary Education by Fr. Schneider. In the same year Stiehl's Regulations were repealed and replaced by the "General Regulations concerning elementary schools and the training of teachers," issued on the 15th of October 1872. Their dominant tendency was, firstly (in regard to aims of instruction), to raise the standard of proficiency in all subjects, and especially in history and natural science; and secondly (in regard to methods), to restrict learning by heart to what was absolutely indispensable, whilst at the same time furthering as much as possible the development of the faculties of apprehension and reasoning. This was the purport of the regulations concerning the training colleges. The theory of education, and also logic and psychology, were reintroduced. The "so-called [German] Classics" were now expressly included in the syllabus. In arithmetic not only decimal fractions were to be taught, but also logarithms and quadratic equations, to which were added plane and solid geometry. A physical cabinet and a chemical laboratory were to be provided for the instruction in natural science, and a voluntary course was to be given in one foreign language—as a rule, in French. Evidently the dread of undue "learning" had disappeared.

the
training
colleges
and

the ele-
mentary
schools.

The elementary schools were reorganised on the same lines. This appears at once from the decided preference given to schools with several classes, while those with only one class were considered merely as a makeshift. Wherever two or more

schools with only one class existed in the same place they were to be merged, if possible, into one school with more classes. Should the number of pupils rise over eighty, two classes were to be the rule, and three classes where their number exceeded one hundred and twenty. As to the course of instruction, which was to be arranged everywhere in three progressive stages, the following directions were given. In religious teaching an introduction to the Holy Scriptures was to occupy the foremost place, catechism being restricted to the more important chapters, and the number of hymns to be learnt by heart being fixed at "twenty at most," whilst in Stiehl's Regulations "at least forty" were required. In German fluent reading was to be the goal, in addition to grammatical and orthographic correctness in writing from dictation and composition. In the upper stage of schools with more classes than one the primer was to be employed in presenting to the pupils a selection from the principal works of the national poets with some information concerning their lives. Arithmetic was to include, in the upper stage, decimal fractions, to which were added the elements of geometry. In presenting the principles of physics experiments were to be resorted to, at least in the larger schools. The instruction in history, geography and natural history was to aim at acquainting the pupils with their nearer surroundings and at making the phenomena as far as possible accessible to their understanding. Artistic taste was to be developed by the instruction in drawing and singing, including secular songs. Physical development was to be furthered by gymnastics and games. Girls were to receive also instruction in needlework, to which have lately been added here and there the other branches of domestic economy.

Their
success.

No doubt a school really coming up to these requirements has fulfilled the purposes of a truly national system of education. Of course it could not have come up to them everywhere at once, nor does it to-day. This is impossible, for example, in village schools with an excessive number of pupils and only one class and one teacher, or where the attendance is irregular, or where other difficulties have to be contended with, such as the use of a language of instruction which is not the mother tongue of the children. But given tolerably favourable conditions and circumstances these aims lie within the range of possibility. They are not extravagant but supply actual wants, and nothing but dire necessity can be an excuse for failing to satisfy them. And it may be added that during the last generation the elementary school in Prussia has, by dint of unremitting effort, made considerable progress towards this goal—a progress hardly affected by temporary fluctuations in educational policy. With the increasing wealth of the people, and the growing means at the disposal of the State, the expenditure of the latter on behalf of schools and teachers has become considerably larger, especially during the administration of Dr Bosse.

Dr Bosse.

The village school with only one class has long ceased to represent the normal type of the elementary school. In consequence of the growth of the towns and their population the number of schools with three or more classes is continually increasing, and still more so the number of children frequenting these schools, which now far outnumber the smaller ones. The professional education and the social rank of the teachers having been improved in the same proportion, it cannot be wrong to assume that the achievements of schools and pupils have,

on the whole, also reached a considerably higher level.*

Besides the reorganisation of the elementary school the "General Regulations" contained a scheme for a new type, the *Mittelschule* ("Intermediate School"), a higher grade primary school, destined to occupy an intermediate position between the elementary and secondary schools. There were to be not less than five, but as a rule six, classes, and the same subjects were to be taught as at the elementary school, but on a higher plane, especially as far as science and history were concerned. In addition instruction was to be given in French, and perhaps a voluntary course in one other foreign language. This new school was to meet, above all, the growing educational requirements of the commercial classes, and thus at the same time to diminish the number of pupils in the lower and middle forms of the *Gymnasien*. But the development of this new type has remained within narrow bounds; in 1901 the number of these schools was 456, with 3759 classes and 134,741 pupils. The cause is evidently not to be looked for in any defects of their organisation but in considerations of a social nature. These schools belong to the system of primary education and cannot call themselves "higher" schools, nor have they any privileges to offer, such as the right of serving only one year

The
*Mittel-
schule.*

* In 1861 there were in Prussia 2935 schools, with 10,290 classes, in the towns, and 21,828 schools, with 26,493 classes, in the villages. In 1901 there were 4413 schools, with 35,733 classes, in the towns, and 32,332 schools, with 68,349 classes, in the villages. The number of pupils frequenting schools with only one class had sunk in 1901 to 1,373,442, whereas in those with two classes it amounted to 487,830, and in those with three or more classes to 3,819,600, *i.e.*, to more than two-thirds of the total figure. The number of training colleges, which had been increased during Stiehl's administration only by a few establishments, was 133 in 1901.

in the army. That is why preference is generally given to the *Realschulen*.

School and
Church.

Another trait of some importance in Falk's administration was the changed attitude of the educational authorities towards the Church. During the preceding period they had endeavoured to re-establish the rule of the Church over the schools, as far as it could be done without openly abandoning the principle that the schools were State institutions. But now, when the antagonism between the State and the Roman Church reached a climax in the *Kulturkampf*, their principal object was to make the schools as independent of the Church as was possible without abolishing the principle sanctioned by history and re-asserted in sec. 24 of the Constitution, that, in the organisation of the elementary schools, questions of religious creed should receive the most serious consideration, and that the direction of religious instruction was a right devolving upon the respective religious communities. The School Inspection Bill, passed in 1872, was based on the principle that the school inspection was a function of the State, exercised by clergymen, not in their own right but by a mandate of the State, which the latter could withdraw at any time. For the district inspection, to which the local school inspection is subordinated, a considerable number of professional school inspectors were appointed; at present they represent about one quarter of the whole. The development of the undenominational schools was also encouraged and furthered during this administration. Above all, wherever a more efficient institution with several classes could be called into being by the fusion of two or more small and poor denominational schools with only one class existing side by side with each other, the local authorities were encouraged

to take this course. At the same time Dr Falk took good care not to subscribe the liberal party dogma that this undenominational *Simultanschule* should be the rule everywhere and under all circumstances. Indeed, he never sanctioned any proposals of municipal authorities in that direction unless the individual circumstances of the case made a fusion of two or more denominational schools into one undenominational institution really desirable. There can hardly be a doubt that this is the most consistent and serviceable educational policy—to submit to considerations of actual expediency but not to any party dogma, ecclesiastical or otherwise. On the whole, *i.e.*, with occasional concessions to the partisans of denominational schools, this policy, as then established, has been maintained by Dr Falk's successors, despite the most violent attacks on the part of the clergy.

Under these circumstances the elementary schools have made steady progress during the last generation, and the confidence that this progress will continue in the future is not likely to prove deceptive. No doubt there are obstacles to be surmounted. Even in liberal circles the enthusiasm for the education of the people is perhaps no longer so warm as it was fifty years ago—not to speak of the great landowners in the Eastern provinces nor of the Church of Rome. Not a few of the elected representatives of the nation view the progress of the education of the people with great misgivings. Since the rise of Social Democracy the question, if it is not easier to govern uneducated masses, is seriously considered even by men whose indignation would have been roused, not so long ago, by the mere formulation of such a question. Nevertheless, I am convinced that this progress will continue. The past development cannot be undone.

The outlook.

The interests of the community are too clearly against it. From the standpoint of party interests it may seem doubtful here and there if it is advisable to advance the education of the people. But from the standpoint of the nation as a whole, as organised in the State, and therefore also from the standpoint of the monarchy, there can be no doubt that it is in its own interest that all national forces should be developed to their utmost capacity in order that they may the better subserve the ends of the national self-preservation and self-realisation. As things now are in the civilised world a nation lagging behind in this respect is bound to be overtaken by its more energetic neighbours. It is clear that the German nation will have to work with all its might if it is not to lose the start it had gained in the sphere of education by an early enforcement of school attendance, and by assiduously providing for the training of the teachers. In France and the United States, Germany has found competitors who call for the most vigorous efforts on her own part. For no one can entertain any doubt that, in the great struggle for national dignity and power, those nations will be best able to hold their own which best look after the training and education of youth by insisting on a high standard of efficiency in the schools and, at the same time, increasing the economic and moral efficiency of family life. To those who think that the ignorance of the masses is the best foundation for a firm government, the recent fate of a great empire in Eastern Europe may serve as a warning which cannot well be misunderstood. A State which is afraid of "enlightenment," is sure to be visited by it in its most destructive form.

(4) Regulations for the training colleges of 1901.

The regulations drawn up by Schneider are still in force as far as the elementary schools are concerned,

but new Regulations were issued in 1901 concerning the Training and the Examination of Primary Teachers, the general tendency being to raise the standard of their scholarship to a still higher level. These regulations were the very reverse of Stiehl's. According to the latter, the training college had practically no other aim than to initiate the teacher in the art of his profession, without making any further provision for his own education beyond the consolidation of what knowledge he himself had acquired at some elementary school, that being all he had afterwards to teach. The object of the new regulations, on the other hand, is in the first place and above all to produce teachers who are really educated men of independent thought. For this purpose the curricula of the preparatory training school and the training college are joined together, after the example set by other German States, so that the future teacher has to go through a six years' course of studies. Accordingly, more ambitious aims are pursued in the various subjects. As an introduction to the theory of education the principles of logic and psychology are to be dealt with. The substance of the instruction in German is formed by a complete course in German literature, as represented in its more important works from the Middle Ages onwards. This includes the interpretation of dramas and poems by Schiller and Goethe and of prose writings by Lessing, Herder and Schiller, to which are further added selections from Homer and one drama by Shakespeare, nor are the literary products of our own days excluded. Besides, one foreign language (French or English, in some cases, Latin) is regularly taught throughout the whole course of six years. The instruction in mathematics includes logarithms, quadratic equations, solid geometry and trigonometry.

The
modern
primary
teacher.

It will be seen that, in all these subjects, teaching at the training colleges assumes more and more the character of an introduction to serious scientific studies on similar lines to those adopted at the secondary schools. This is an illustration of the change that has taken and is still taking place in the whole social position of the primary teachers. The schoolmaster of old, who taught reading and writing and examined the children in their Catechism, no longer exists. The educator of youth who has taken his place has the more difficult task of procuring for the broad masses of the population as large a share as possible in the whole inner life of the nation. From the primitive economical conditions of agriculture the German nation has grown up to be an industrial and commercial power of the first rank, which has entailed a steady progress of municipal institutions like the *Mittelschule* and similar higher grade schools. These schools, of course, make other calls upon the intellectual capacity of the teacher than the old village school with only one class. Nor does his task nowadays end with the course of the elementary school. In the technical and continuation schools which have been added he finds new important tasks and problems with which he cannot cope, unless he is able to take a comprehensive view of the whole life of his times and has found his bearings in all departments of national life—economy and technology, law and politics, literature and science.

His ad-
mission to
the uni-
versity.

The demand, recently brought forward by the teachers, that they should be given access to the university must also be judged from this standpoint. At the last great Conference of teachers, which was held at Königsberg, a resolution was carried, embodying the principle that all teachers of all schools and all grades should receive a university education. I

must confess that I consider this a Utopian demand, not only for external, *i.e.*, economical, but also for internal reasons, relating to the organisation of university teaching and to the aims of the elementary schools, which neither require specialists nor have room for them. On the other hand, however, I consider it in every way desirable that access to the university should be given to men of superior intellect and will-power who have received their education at a training college. To remove obstructive barriers between social and professional classes is in any case a good thing. The achievements in that respect of the latest Prussian Regulations are to my mind their greatest merit. From this standpoint any efforts are, of course, to be equally welcomed, which are made on the part of the universities, to bring teachers who are eager to increase their knowledge in contact with the progress of learning and scientific research, either in holiday courses or by systematic series of lectures.

IV. CONTINUATION SCHOOLS AND OTHER EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCES

A few further words may be added here concerning that characteristic product of the nineteenth century, the continuation and technical schools, which I have just mentioned in passing. Their object is to continue and complete the instruction received at the elementary schools by providing a preparatory course to the various trades or business professions. In the main their development belongs to the last third of the nineteenth century, although the first beginnings date back to an earlier period. The pupils of the elementary schools being discharged

Technical
schools.
Their
origin.

at fourteen years of age, and in some cases—as in the Roman Catholic territories of Southern Germany—still earlier, there is no guarantee that the education they have received will be of lasting benefit to them. Indeed, this rudimentary education is only too often lost or wantonly thrown away during the next following years—in many cases years full of the most dangerous crises in the life of the young. This fact is too obvious to have been ignored at any time. As early as in the eighteenth century we meet with manifold endeavours to continue the instruction of the elementary schools—especially religious instruction—in Sunday or evening schools. These attempts were continued until far into the nineteenth century, but met on the whole with scanty success, being frustrated by lack of interest and by the refractory spirit of youthful independence. The vigorous economic development since the middle of the nineteenth century, however, has changed the aspect of things. The curriculum by which the course of elementary instruction is continued has more and more assumed a technical or professional character. The principal aim is no longer merely to repeat and consolidate what knowledge had been acquired at the elementary schools, but rather that the pupils should turn that knowledge to account in acquiring manifold further knowledge and skill, directly serviceable to the various callings which they have chosen, or in which they are already being initiated. An instruction of this kind, which does not consist in mere repetition and has a direct bearing on practical life, is able to rouse the interest of the pupils from the beginning and to keep it alive throughout the whole course.

Their constitution.

In this way continuation and technical schools of all grades have been developed in the German

states into a very complicated educational organism, comprising numerous and manifold forms. Industrial, commercial and agricultural institutions of this kind, varying very considerably in regard to their organisation and their aims, have spread over all parts of Germany, as may be seen from the first statistical survey given by Lexis in *Das Unterrichtswesen*, &c. (IV. 3). German, arithmetic and drawing are regular subjects in all these continuation schools, the tasks set to the pupils being adapted in each case to the respective trade or profession. Naturally, in many cases it is necessary first of all to revert to the general rudiments, and to consolidate and complete the instruction received at the elementary schools. For this purpose the technical are supplemented by general continuation schools, the latter being the only possible form in places where the elementary schools do not come up to the required standard, and where specialisation is made impossible by the limitations of numbers, as is generally the case in the villages. Another great difficulty with which the continuation schools have to contend is the lack of properly-trained teachers. The difficulties which have frequently arisen from irregular attendance are not insurmountable if only the authorities in Prussia will make up their minds to follow the example set by other German states in making the attendance at continuation schools compulsory. Even at present this can be done by the local authorities, and has already been done on a large scale in the towns.

At any rate, even now the numbers of those who, ^{Their} after going through an elementary school, receive ^{value.} further instruction—as a rule, of a technical and professional character—are counted by hundreds of thousands. And I think we may look forward

to a vigorous future development of this new department of education, which represents a kind of academical training, as it were, on the basis of the general education provided in the elementary schools. It is not only an important factor in the progress of trade and of the whole economical life of the nation, but also a real blessing to the pupils themselves. For they leave the elementary school just at an age when they are most impressionable, and at the same time stand most in need of intellectual stimulus. It is in those years that the productive forces implanted by Nature first begin to stir. If, during that period, the soil is left without cultivation it will be overrun by weeds, which are luxuriant everywhere. Nor is some support during those critical years less important for their moral development, which need not imply any direct interference on the part of the continuation schools, the common pursuit of serious objects being sufficient to exercise an influence in that direction.

“People’s
High
Schools.”

In this connection a peculiar type of continuation schools may be mentioned here, which is about to be introduced from the Scandinavian countries—the so-called “People’s High Schools.” They are organised on similar lines as the Anglo-American College, but appeal to the broader masses of the rural population. Their importance lies in that they give moral as well as intellectual education. There is indeed no better means to form the character in its early development than self-government within a corporate community, bound together by general regulations.

Newspaper
press and
general
literature.

In the same age which has seen so many additions to the system of public educational institutions another educational system, as it might be called, has gained enormous importance, although it must

be added that its influences are in many respects antagonistic to those of the schools—I mean the newspaper press and general literature. First of all, the daily press has tremendously increased in circulation and influence. Fifty years ago there were, relatively speaking, few people who read newspapers. But now they have reached the masses. In the towns hardly anyone is without his paper to-day, and even in the villages the backward population of the eastern provinces practically forms the only stratum of which this can be said. To the daily papers have been added weekly journals and monthly reviews of all kinds and sizes, and lastly, books—books of all classes, entertaining and instructive, the masterpieces of literature and sensational novels. Literature of some kind or other finds its way into every house and every cottage, and appeals to every mind. Rich and poor, high and low, men and women—all have become readers nowadays. In this way the intellectual horizon even of the masses has been extended beyond measure, and the circulation of ideas has assumed an infinitely greater speed. Social classes, such as the rural and the working population in general, which a hundred years ago either did not read at all, or, if they did, at best turned over the leaves of an almanack once in a while, or perhaps of the Bible or a book of sermons, now read regularly every day social and political news and articles, popular treatises on natural science and modern theology, short stories and novels, books of travels and of history, written from the “patriotic” or the social democratic standpoint. Whether this universal reading of all classes is an unmixed blessing for the inner life of man may be another question. It is not difficult to realise its dangers. There is,

no doubt, an inner connection between this uncritical and random devouring of literature and the superficiality and lack of concentration so characteristic of our times. A steady development and organic consistency of character and individuality was easier of attainment at a time when people read and re-read again and again a small number of superior books in keeping with each other. But how is sound education to thrive in this time of everlasting newspaper-reading when between each night and morning countless reports from all corners of the earth crop up and supersede each other, most of them pandering to the craving for sensational horrors and loathsome scandals? However, it is useless to complain and to call back the good old times, which after all were really very dull and slow in many respects. The only thing that can be done, now that the reading habit is established, is to turn it to good account. There is an abundance of excellent and sound reading matter, if only it could always find its readers and supplant the inferior output. The efforts that have lately been made in that direction by the publication of numerous cheap and popular series, and by the establishment of public libraries and reading-rooms, have not been without success. Public lectures, "People's High Schools" and similar institutions might exercise a salutary influence in the same direction if they would devote part of their attention to the guidance of the general reader in his selection of books. If such efforts are vigorously continued it may be hoped that the general ability and eagerness of all classes to read will really serve to widen the scope and increase the depth of their inner life. And if in this way the reading public is raised to a higher level the newspaper press will follow

of itself. And the more usual it becomes in Germany, as it has been in England for a long time, for the readers of a paper to exercise a critical influence on it by contributing Letters to the Editor, the keener will the feeling of responsibility become within the journalistic profession as to what a writer owes to himself as well as to his reader.

There is a reverse side to this recent social development which I will not pass by unnoticed. The educational influences of family life are on the wane. It becomes less and less usual for youth to be trained for practical life by taking part in the work of the parents. In the primitive conditions of rural life the children grow into their work, as it were, in the domestic community. There is always something to do for boys and girls from the days of their childhood—indoors or afield, in the kitchen or in the garden. It is a delightful arrangement, for in this way the parents enjoy their children's help, and the children take an interest in what they are doing. It goes indeed a long way towards making up that "domestic blessing" of which Pestalozzi speaks. Town life tends to blight the welfare of this small community. The father goes to work in the factory or in the office, while, even for his wife, domestic work is reduced to a scanty remnant. The old home production of commodities of all kinds is decaying; everything is bought ready-made at a shop or in the market. Cooking and washing-up, mending and scrubbing is all that has still to be done at home; but even for these duties a substitute can be found, so that the wife can go out to work like her husband. The home then becomes a mere night-shelter, and the children a nuisance and burden, or—in well-to-do families—mere dolls to dress up and play with, and later on,

Decline of
domestic
education.

Its substitutes.

when their schooldays begin, an incessant worry. Here, again, the decay of educational home influences has led to social provision being made. Public institutions are attempting here and there to make up for what has been neglected, or what is no longer possible in the domestic sphere. As for girls, needlework has long been a regular subject in the schools, to which is now sometimes added systematic training in the other domestic duties. Boys, too, are offered here and there various courses of manual training—a subject introduced from the Northern countries, where all kinds of old domestic handicrafts have survived to a greater extent than in Germany. All these efforts deserve high commendation, for if such arts cease to be propagated spontaneously public provision must be made to prevent their dying out. Without manual training a general education is not complete, and a skilled hand is a treasure in all conditions of life, above all for a wife and mother. Domestic prosperity is certainly better served by it than by the ability to talk (or to be silent) in several foreign tongues! Even the inner life is furthered by such occupations; for the humble arts of manual skill induce sober-mindedness and modesty, whilst the arts of eloquence and similar pretentious attainments tend to foster intellectual pride and vanity.

“ Educational Country Homes.”

Mention may also be made of the “ Educational Country Homes ” (*Land-Erziehungsheime*) recently established by Dr E. Lietz. They are institutions situate in the country, where instruction goes hand-in-hand with joint rural occupations of all kinds. They are also intended to replace the waning educational influences of home life, and I consider it probable that the number of such and similar institutions will increase in Germany as elsewhere.

General Educational Influences 269

Flat-life, however fashionably and splendidly equipped, and a family life consumed by the distractions and dissipations of a great city do not afford a congenial soil for the nurture of the young generation.

CHAPTER III

RETROSPECT AND OUTLOOK

A historical retrospect—the only basis for an outlook into the future.

I WILL bring my historical account to a close with a brief glance at the future outlook, and since the only basis for human foresight is the consideration of the past course of development, I will venture to recapitulate the broad lines of the educational movement. I need scarcely say that we cannot in this way arrive at any certain conclusions as to the future. Disturbing influences and destructive catastrophes may break in and divert or complicate the course of development. Nevertheless, it is a fact that tendencies which have once established themselves in the inner life of society maintain themselves with uncommon stubbornness against the interference of the accidents of external history. In the last instance, it is by the struggle of these inner forces towards their goal, and not by merely accidental occurrences, that the real life of history acquires its meaning. The hidden force of attraction, that gives development its direction, lies in the idea.

A. DE-
CLERI-
CALISA-
TION OF
EDUCA-
TION.

If we glance back over the way we have traversed two leading features are prominent throughout the whole of it. One of these is the progressive secularisation of education and the increasing control exercised over it by the State. The other is the continuous expansion of the school system in ever-widening social circles—what may be called the democratisation of education.

State
control.

The first of these features—the progressive

declericalisation as it may be termed—comes first clearly to light in the process of external secularisation, the passing of the control over schools from the Church to the State. In the Middle Ages the whole of the educational system lay in the hands of the Church. At the present time the political authority has everywhere taken to itself the ultimate direction, allowing to the Church, with more or less good-will, especially in the sphere of primary education, a greater or lesser proportion of influence. A beginning was made in this direction in the Middle Ages by the universities. After the Reformation these were followed by the secondary schools, those in Protestant countries leading the way, and in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the primary schools have also come more and more under the authority of the State. The cause of this movement is clear. The Church is everywhere falling back before the advance of the State as the dominant form of modern social life, and this again is obviously connected with the progressive secularisation of all the modes of thought and feeling peculiar to Western civilisation. As the other world sinks more and more into the background, and loses its power as a motive of human action, the Church suffers a corresponding loss of influence.

This external secularisation has been accompanied by an inner transformation of the educational profession. From the university down to the primary school, teachers have ceased to be servants or functionaries of the Church. The subjects of instruction consist for the most part in the secular arts and sciences. The regulation of all teaching so as to bring it into harmony with the doctrines of the Church has disappeared. In the universities, which were the first to throw off this control, it was every-

Secular
tendencies.

where definitely abandoned during the eighteenth century. Till then the philosophical faculty at least, in addition to that of theology, was still under the active control of the doctrinal system of the Church. At the present day theology itself has become a science which brings truth to the test of its own intrinsic standards. At any rate this is true of Protestant theology in Germany, and the attempts of the ecclesiastical authorities to confine inquiry within the limits of dogma, though here and there successful, are on the whole in vain. In the schools, it is true, religious instruction is still controlled by the Church, but it has lost its once dominant position. Less than two hundred years ago every school, of whatever grade, was entirely permeated by the atmosphere of the Church and its creeds. Since then, in the primary schools no less than in the higher schools, religious teaching has come to be strictly limited in its scope as one subject amongst others. In many cases it has come to be regarded as an outside subject, or, indeed, even to be resented as an alien element in education—as a survival that no longer harmonises with its environment, and whose abolition is only a question of time.

Education
a function
of the
State.

Such has been hitherto the course of development, and there is no reason to believe that in this respect a retrogressive movement is likely to set in. Partial and transitory currents of reaction are, of course, possible. The Church has not given up its claim to dominance in the schools. The Roman Catholic Church especially retains a firm hold of this, as, indeed, of every other claim to which it can show any title. And in fact it must be conceded that, from the ideal point of view, education belongs essentially to the sphere which the Church regards, and cannot help regarding, as its own domain, the sphere of the cure

of souls and of the guidance of conduct. But the accomplished facts of history cannot be set aside. The regulation of education has fallen into the hands of the State through the course of events and partly through the fault of the Church, which, since the close of the Middle Ages, has, on the whole, been a retarding element in social and intellectual progress, and the State will not suffer it to be torn again from its grasp. Education, it must be confessed, is too vitally connected with its own wider aims and functions for the State ever to allow it to pass once more out of the political into the ecclesiastical sphere. If the maintenance and the elevation of the whole status of the nation—its intellectual and moral no less than its political and economical condition—is the task which the modern State sets itself to perform (and the State is in fact nothing but the organisation of the nation for this end), it cannot be indifferent to the training of the rising generation, upon whom the maintenance of the whole past achievement of civilisation must immediately depend, nor can it hand over this function to a power, independent of itself, in the simple confidence that its own aims will still be followed and its ideas respected. The truth of this is so obvious that even States like the English, which have longest shown themselves indifferent to this duty of the body politic, have begun in the last generation to apply themselves with great earnestness to the regulation and furtherance of a national system of education. It may well be claimed that the recent achievements of the German people have essentially contributed to make other nations realise the important part which a national system of education and culture, directed and promoted by the State in the interests of all classes of the population, may play in assisting a nation to

develop its own capacities even as a military or economic power. The want of foresight with which many governments had long left the schools to the Church, or to the automatic play of supply and demand, has now in all European and in many non-European countries given place to a zealous care for education on the part of the State.

School
Inspection.

There will be no halt in this movement. On the contrary it will continue to advance through further stages to its final goal. And the stage which lies immediately before us in Germany is the complete establishment of the State inspection of schools. I have myself no doubt that what remains of the old ecclesiastical control of schools in the form of clerical inspection is destined in no long time to disappear. It is entirely out of harmony with the whole constitution of the modern school. First and foremost, the district school inspection will fall out of the hands of the clergy, which have long become too weak for the office. The task has become so great and difficult that it demands the whole strength of professional and expert officials. The teachers realised this long ago, whilst, at the same time, they resented, as a slight to their official status, their being placed under the oversight of an alien profession, which, without any intrinsic qualification, treated their calling as a dependent annex of the clerical office. Every advance made in the development of our school system, and in the training of teachers for their work, makes the old regulations more impossible, and, from the point of view of personal relations, more intolerable. Quite recently this feeling has found repeated and lively expression in public on the part of the clergy themselves. And the local inspection will follow the district-inspection. Not that the clergyman should be prevented from carrying

it out, if he had the requisite gifts and special knowledge as well as the inclination for the work and if the office were entrusted to him by the community. But he certainly should not be obliged to perform the function where not a single one of these conditions is satisfied. A century ago it may perhaps still have been necessary to commit this office into the hands of the clergyman as the only man of higher education to be found in wide areas of the country. Since then, however, this want of men has been removed—mainly by the development of the teaching profession itself.

As a further consequence of the development I have foreshadowed I look for the separation of the Ministry of Public Instruction from the State's direction of Church affairs. The latter department, if not constituted as an office by itself, might most fittingly be associated with the Ministry of Justice. This would have the further advantage of making it clear that it was not with Church government proper, the *jus in sacra*, that the department was concerned, but with the maintenance of the correct legal boundaries between Church and State. The present association of education with Church affairs is essentially based on the idea of a church established by the State.

What are we to say of the question of religious instruction? Will its exclusion from the schools be another of the consequences of the remodelling of the school system? The answer will depend on what is understood by religious instruction. If it means an instruction whose object is to convince the scholar of the truth of the creeds of the Church, I should certainly say that it is as little compatible with the nature of the modern State as with the constitution of the school system. And without

A separate education department wanted.

Difficulties of denominational religious instruction.

doubt that was its original meaning, the sense in which it was introduced by the reformed Churches, and consequently by the Roman Catholic Church, in the sixteenth century. Moreover, it must be admitted that this meaning has not yet altogether died out. Stiehl's Regulations of half a century ago declared expressly in its favour, and the more recent Ordinances nowhere reject it. Formally indeed it still lies at the base of the practice of instruction and of school inspection, though it is no longer so obtrusively emphasised in outward expression. In my opinion, however, a religious instruction of this kind belongs to the school of the past—the school whose first and last object is to serve as the nursery of the Church. In such a school a course of instruction whose essential object is to impress upon the mind the creeds of the Church as absolute and exclusive truth is appropriate enough. On the other hand, it is clearly out of place in the modern State school for the simple reason that the State has no creed. The individual subjects of the State hold a variety of creeds towards which the State itself in modern times maintains neutrality on principle; it admits them all but adopts none. In this condition of things it is clearly an anomaly that the State should cause dogmatic religious instruction to be imparted through State officials under State supervision in State schools at which attendance is compulsory, thus giving rise to the strange situation in which, of two schools under the same authority, Catholic dogma, including the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, is taught in one, whilst the Reformed or the Lutheran catechism, with its absolute rejection of the Papacy, is taught as absolute truth in the other. Long-established usage and a want of earnestness in our way of taking these things generally

has made us insensible of this inner contradiction. Nevertheless, it exists and makes itself felt, whenever the relations between Church and State become strained, as they did at the time of the *Kulturkampf*, when an embittered conflict arose as to the religious instruction imparted by State officials under State direction, which no longer met with the approval of the Church, because it had not been modified so as to include the latest accretions of dogma. It is equally felt by dissenters of all kinds who have to let their children partake of a dogmatic instruction repugnant to their own beliefs or to their scientific convictions; and it can hardly be doubted that the number of these dissenters is far from being adequately represented by the figures given under this head in the census returns. And finally it is felt most deeply of all by those teachers who, whilst inwardly dissenting from the recognised religion, are called upon to impart instruction in accordance with the formularies of a creed which does not express their personal faith. A short time ago (in 1905) a memorial was drawn up by the teachers of Bremen and presented to the authorities, which gave most earnest expression to these feelings. Evidently the inner conflict is already at work, and the time will come when it will cease to be tolerable, and when the schools of the State, in Germany as elsewhere, will exclude dogmatic religious instruction, leaving it to the Church to provide such instruction for those who voluntarily desire it.

But these considerations by no means dispose of the question of religious instruction in every shape or form—at any rate in Protestant Germany. What-
 ever attitude we may personally take up towards religion, it is impossible to entertain a doubt that it has constituted an important, perhaps the most

Religious
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important, feature of the inner life of mankind in the past and that it still plays a very significant part in our inner life to-day, although we are assured from time to time that it is dead and buried. The traces which it has left on history are manifest at every point. Christianity, with its faith and its standards of conduct, permeates the whole life of the Western world in all its forms as an omnipresent factor. In art and literature, in architecture and music, in philosophy and science, everywhere we find Christianity as the great and omnipresent content of life. To-day, no less than in the past, no one can pass it by with indifference. He must define his attitude towards it, positively or negatively, and does not even he who enters the lists against it thereby acknowledge its importance? In the same way the political history of the European nations has been, at every point, partly determined by religious questions, from the conversion of the first king of the Franks and the coronation of Charlemagne as Roman emperor to the great struggles between secular and ecclesiastical authorities which fill the history of the Middle Ages, and then again from the Reformation to the Revolution and the *Kulturkampf*. There is not one inch of historical soil but has felt the influence of Christianity and the Church. If therefore we consider it to be the mission of the school to assist the rising generation in finding their bearings amid the environment in which they live and are some day to act, and if we admit that the closest and most actual environment of human life is not so much the world of nature as of history, there cannot be any doubt that the school cannot and ought not to shirk the task of presenting and explaining Christianity as a phenomenon of historical life. Anyone completely ignorant about Christian

faith and ideals of conduct, about biblical and ecclesiastical history, could not but feel like a deaf man in a concert-room—in actual life as well as in history. He would lack the key to the comprehension of a very considerable domain of the doings and actions, the feelings and pursuits of mankind. Accordingly, the school is bound to treat of those things, and to treat of them as something that has no less actual existence than the physical world, and therefore, like the latter, calls in the first place not for criticism but for comprehension and appreciation. And further, to present that great experience in the history of mankind which had its origin nineteen hundred years ago on the soil of Jewish nationality, thence to spread gradually over all parts of the world—not only accidentally, say in the course of historical instruction, but, as far as possible, in systematical form—must accordingly remain an indispensable task of the school, no matter whether it be called religious instruction, Christian knowledge, or by any other name.

As a matter of fact the treatment of religious instruction in the German schools has been moving in that direction for some considerable time past. It only remains for us to draw the proper conclusions and to say, as matters stand at present, and given our teachers and pupils, such as they are, we cannot pursue any other object than to hand down a historical knowledge of Christianity with its beliefs, its literary documents and its standards of life, its progress and its revolutions. To produce a conviction as to the absolute truth of this or that article of faith is a task which transcends the powers and the mission of the school. If we could make up our minds to draw these conclusions, one thing would be achieved above all others, namely, our teachers could again

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treat of these things with a clear conscience. That at present to many of them the task of religious instruction in dogmatic form is felt as a heavy burden is certain, especially as far as the Protestant faith is concerned, which always looks upon individual conscience as the highest court of appeal, whereas Roman Catholic teachers may entrench themselves behind the doctrine of the Church. I am fully aware that, even in the form suggested, religious instruction would not lack its difficulties of subject-matter as well as of method. But that does not make this step any the less necessary as a way out of a state of things which has become unbearable. And perhaps, after all, many a teacher would regain, with his easiness of mind, something of the former enthusiasm. For no one could, of course, be blind to the wealth of wisdom and knowledge contained in the books of the Old and the New Testament. Indeed, as a world-classic, the Bible has no rival, in regard to its content as well as its form; and a teacher of the people could not possibly find any other collection of writings which could take the place of the Scriptures and could afford him equal facilities for initiating youth in the understanding of human life and conduct.

That religious life itself would not lose anything in this way seems equally certain to me. It may be granted that certain formulations of religious ideas, as contained in the greater catechisms, would be heard less frequently in the schools, such as the doctrines of original sin and redemption, of incarnation and vicarious sacrifice, of the scheme of salvation and of repentance, of faith and of justification. But that would be no loss; for these dogmas treat of problems and experiences which can hardly be grasped and understood by school-boys, and can

therefore only lead to senseless repetition, which is the death of all genuine religious feeling. Religious life is kindled by the contemplation of genuine piety in others, most of all in those with whom we are in living contact, and the only way for religious instruction to gain any influence over the pupils is by presenting to them pictures of spiritual life from history and literature. As to the moral education of youth, the biblical writings cannot be employed in that direction at all until they are freed from the traditional dogmatic interpretation and treated as purely human evidences of human experience. On the other hand, any one with an unprejudiced mind must see at once that in this important department of education—the framing of the moral ideas and, indirectly, of the moral character—we cannot possibly do without these writings and cannot replace them by selections from the secular literature of all nations, as the Bremen teachers would have it. The Bible will always occupy a singular place in this world of ours—not only on account of the value of the biblical writings in themselves, but also because historical continuity is such an important consideration in questions of this sort.

This inner development of religious instruction would, at the same time, prepare the way for what seems to be the goal of the future development of German education—a universal primary school, frequented by both creeds, side by side. I am not of the opinion that the universal establishment, on principle, of the *Simultanschule* (providing separate religious instruction for the different creeds), which is so warmly advocated by some political parties at the present moment, would be an ideal arrangement; and it certainly is, for the time being, completely impossible of realisation. Forced on unwilling minds

Under-
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schools.

by legal pressure, this measure would give rise to educational strife in its acutest form. The further effect, if the plan were carried out, would be that, side by side with this rightly or wrongly so-called "undenominational" school, denominational private schools would spring up, especially in the Roman Catholic territories, but probably also in Protestant Germany. And thus this course, suggested not by considerations of practical expediency but of political dogmatism, would ultimately result not, as had been intended, in bridging over the gulf between the different creeds, but in widening and deepening it. If, on the other hand, things are allowed to develop in the direction foreshadowed by the main current of history, as outlined above, if, that is to say, purely biblical instruction is allowed more and more to supplant dogmatic and denominational teaching—and this does not require any legislative measures but merely an attitude of *laissez-faire* on the part of the administrative authorities—the time will arrive when, by a gradual inner transformation, the school will have become ready to take the final step. This will consist in the establishment of truly undenominational teaching, *i.e.*, of a purely biblical and historical instruction about Christianity for all creeds alike, to be supplemented by special denominational instruction—optional, of course—on the part of the religious communities, preparatory to the reception of the pupils as active members.

Prospects
of unde-
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tionalism.

I know very well that this expectation will be looked upon as something like a Utopia by many readers, as well amongst those who are in favour of such a development as amongst those who are opposed to it. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the future course of events will follow this direction. In the first place, this development is encouraged

by the intermingling of different religions, which is going on in Germany at an ever-quicken- ing pace. Ere long there will be no town or rural district of any size in the Empire but will be inhabited by Protestants and Roman Catholics side by side. As an immediate consequence of this the schools frequented by various denominations will become more numerous, or, at any rate, it will become more usual for children of different religious faith to be sent to the same school, and mixed marriages will also become more frequent. Isolation and estrangement will decrease in the same proportion; for with a mutual acquaintance mutual understanding cannot but go hand-in-hand. Another factor is making in the same direction—I mean the progressive growth of the national spirit of the German people. There is no doubt that, in their sentiment and life, the national feeling is gaining an ever-increasing preponderance over religious differences. One must not be misled by the apparent fierceness of religious conflicts during the nineteenth century, by the sudden and excessive strain in the *Kulturkampf*. It was only a last flaring-up of the old enmity, caused by the solicitude of the clergy for the dominion over souls, and by the blunderings of politicians. As a matter of fact there was a much wider gulf between the Lutherans of Hanover or Schlesvig-Holstein and the Roman Catholics of Bavaria during the undisturbed religious peace at the beginning of the nineteenth, than is the case at the beginning of the twentieth century after the establishment of the Empire. This development is bound to continue. Even if it should not be sufficiently ensured by mutual sympathies, the antagonism of the surrounding nations will do more than is necessary to weld the Germans together into one homogeneous nation.

Present
conditions.

In the schools themselves this tendency has been visible for a very considerable time past, denominational interests being pushed more and more into the background by national considerations. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the old denominational school had been preserved in its unmitigated narrow-mindedness; but since then purely human as well as national interests have asserted themselves with ever-increasing force—in Germany as elsewhere. In the State schools of France the cult of patriotism has supplanted in a measure that of religion. While steering clear, on the whole, of such extravagances the German schools have nevertheless reserved a very considerable space for instruction in the German language and national history. As far as instruction is concerned, the primary schools have, indeed, long ceased to be mere denominational schools. In essentials they have become national schools, though they still take differences of religious creed into account. The same tendency is apparent in the development of the secondary schools. Until the eighteenth century their character was altogether determined by the use of the Latin language (the international means of communication) and by the faith of the religious communities to which they belonged. But during the nineteenth century they have more and more become national institutions, with the German language as the central, if not the main, subject of instruction. At the same time they have divested themselves during the nineteenth century, except in a few scattered survivals, of that denominationalism which, in the eighteenth century, was still a matter of course, and are now for the greater part institutions frequented by the different religious creeds on a footing of equality.

It will be wise, therefore, to let the fruits ripen. The development of primary education will follow the same direction without any interference from without.

I do not believe, however, that it will follow the direction in which, no doubt, not a few of those mean to push it on who passionately advocate the cause of the "Simultanschule"—the direction towards the exclusion of religious instruction from the schools. This could only be the case if the Christian nations made up their minds to follow that direction themselves. But I believe that those who entertain such expectations labour under a grave delusion. The soul of man will never reap full satisfaction from science and this earthly life alone. The less frequent the attempts at coercing his faith and enforcing his belief in the other world become, the more will this want make itself felt. But if religion thus continues to form part of the inner life of the social macrocosm, it will also more or less retain its place in the microcosm of the school. There are countries, it is true, where no alternative course presented itself. In Roman Catholic France, for instance, a national State school could not be secured at any other price than the exclusion of the religious element. But in Germany it seems to me neither necessary nor possible to take this step. I consider it a blessing that the development of German education does not force us to pay that price for the State school, and that the German teachers thus can and will retain the control over religious instruction and the Bible; for only by this means can they be educators of youth in the full sense.

A few words may be added concerning a secondary effect of the establishment of State control over the

Secularisation.

Pressure of State control.

schools. I mean the ever-increasing straitness of the official regulations to which the work of the teacher is subjected, and which have gone on encroaching, for a long time past, upon the domain of individual liberty and initiative. This arises from the nature of the State itself, which came into being essentially as a judiciary and military organisation, since, in these departments of public life, strict and uniform rules necessarily reign supreme, with coercion always looming in the background. In proportion as the State assumed control over public education and instruction, its natural propensity more and more asserted itself, here as elsewhere, by official decrees and measures of compulsion. The Church—which came into being as an institution founded entirely on faith, love and confidence—had always evinced a somewhat greater hesitation to resort to measures of compulsion, nor were the means of compulsion at its full disposal. The last great expansion of State control over the schools took place in the nineteenth century. Until then only external matters, such as the establishment of schools and school attendance in general, had on the whole been subject to compulsion. But now the State proceeded to extend its control also over the inner life of the schools. The central authorities began to issue obligatory schemes of studies in the form of binding laws, laying down, in all details, for each single school the subjects of instruction and the order in which they should be taken, the number of hours to be devoted to the various branches of teaching, and the task to be accomplished in each. Special officials were installed, whose professional duty it was to ensure the observance of these regulations by regular school inspections and examinations. With the growth of official wisdom the

method of teaching was also brought within the scope of official regulations, and even the "correctness" of personal convictions on the part of teachers and pupils became subject to inspection and compulsion, principally under the pressure of political and theological parties. An amount of constraint has thus been placed upon the schools by which the personal initiative of the teacher is restricted in the most objectionable manner. He has to shape his actions not in accordance with his own insight into what is possible and necessary under given circumstances and at a given time, but in accordance with the regulations which happen for the time to be in force, and which certainly are not made any the more lenient or tolerable by the fact that they are replaced by new ones every ten or twenty years. On the contrary, old-established rules come to be looked upon as a kind of physical necessity, whereas changes suggest arbitrariness and chance. There is no doubt that the burden of this constraint weighs heavily on the teachers, and most heavily on the most vigorous and independent minds amongst them. But this burden is also felt by the pupils, especially in the upper standards of the secondary schools, where their riper years rebel against the continuance of strict school discipline and school teaching, with its routine of apportioning and controlling their home-work in all subjects day by day. That animosity against the school which is now so common in Germany, and which so often finds vent in violent utterances, not always just and well-balanced, is a direct consequence of this state of things.

Perhaps it may be added at the present juncture that no educational administration ever had more sympathy with such ill-humour or was more sincerely

Present
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authorities

desirous of finding redress than the Prussian is at this moment. It is to be hoped that it will have more success in its endeavours to remove these grievances than was achieved by L. Wiese, who entered his office fifty years ago with similar views. That happy result may be looked for when a strong and consistent desire in this direction on the part of the highest authorities is responded to by a sincere desire and just appreciation on the part of those placed under them, above all, and in the first place, on the part of the teachers, the fundamental condition being in their case a desire of freedom, tempered by self-discipline and a feeling of personal responsibility. If the intermediate authorities could then accustom themselves to respect every honest and sincere desire, treating it leniently or guiding it with a gentle hand, even where it appears to follow a doubtful or a wrong direction, there would be some hope that the evils of cramming and of red-tapeism would disappear from the schools together, making it possible for teachers and pupils alike to take a spontaneous and pleasurable interest in their work.

Educa-
tional
anarchism.

Of course, the ideal of a still more recent—one might call it the anarchist—school of educationists would even then remain unfulfilled. For the school will never be in a position to comply with their demand that it should forego all compulsion, and not only all compulsion but also all settled order of procedure, and, indeed, all obligatory work, basing the instruction exclusively on the passing inclinations of the pupils. It is quite true that the educator and teacher ought to watch for every silent longing in the mind of the child and pupil and to meet his soul's desire halfway. But this does not imply the renunciation of all firm rule—

may, one may perhaps say that there is nothing for which the child and pupil is more grateful than for being ruled with a firm hand, which teaches him gradually to master his fluctuating inclinations and impulses, and thus to attain to a steadfast will and character. "Good government," in the sense in which we ask for it in the fourth petition, according to Luther's interpretation of the Lord's Prayer, is more needful than anything else for a youthful mind, and never is the latter really more at ease than when it can feel sure of that. Good government does, of course, not mean hard and pedantic and still less ill-tempered and wrathful government, but a government which leads its charge with a strong hand and a firm will to the goal—to the goal which the pupil himself would acknowledge, in his heart of hearts, to be his own. This pedagogic anarchism is nothing but an emotional reaction on the excessive officialism, and both are equally unhealthy and exaggerated. Moreover, when this anarchism, losing all self-control, falls into a fit of frenzied clamour, as happens now and then in this age of neurasthenic journalism, all that is achieved thereby is to compromise endeavours which are sound and necessary in themselves—exactly as in the case of political anarchism. There is, indeed, no greater enemy of liberty than anarchism.

As a second leading feature, accompanying the progressive secularisation of education and educational institutions and the extension of State control, we found a never-resting expansion of the school system in ever-widening circles of the population. One might also call it the advancing democratisation of education, which goes hand-in-hand with the progressive socialisation of educational arrangements.

B. DEMO-
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Past de-
velopment.

The general course of this development may be outlined as follows. In the Middle Ages public educational institutions existed only for the first estate, the clergy; the dominant educational ideal was accordingly clerical. During the Renaissance and the Reformation the second and third estates began to take part in the educational movement. But the narrow limits of a purely clerical education had already been widened somewhat during the second half of the Middle Ages by the universities, when the nobility and the bourgeoisie began to assume the control over education and educational institutions in an ever-increasing measure. This led first to the establishment of an aristocratic ideal of education, which had its prototype in the Renaissance and has left its imprint on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the type of this aristocratic education being determined by the nobility. Since Enlightenment and Neo-Humanism gained the victory, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the middle classes of the towns took the lead. They determined the type of the educational ideal which was dominant in the nineteenth century—that of Hellenistic Humanism. Side by side with these classes the broad masses of the population had also succeeded in obtaining some share in education and educational institutions. Since the sixteenth century reading and writing had already gradually become more common; and in the nineteenth century the primary school, which had so far retained its old purely clerical character, was also transformed by degrees in accordance with the humanistic and middle-class ideal of education. If we continue the unfinished lines of this whole movement we are led to expect from the twentieth century a universal national education, fully shared

even by the fourth estate, by the broad masses of the population—in other words, the realisation of Fichte's ideal of a national education which knows nothing of an ignorant mob. Its real aim would be, not that all should have equal education, but rather that all members of the nation should have a proportionate share, according to their respective abilities and opportunities, in a homogeneous national culture accessible to everybody.

I will indicate a few tendencies which would seem to further a future development in that direction. It is evident that, during the last generation, we have come considerably nearer to the realisation of the ideal, not indeed of a universal school, but of a universal national school system. The former chasm between the training of the scholar and popular education begins to be bridged over from both sides. The *Gymnasium* has long since abandoned the character of the old grammar school, in which Latin reigned supreme from the first, whilst an interdict was placed on German. Since the Latin essay has ceased to be required in the Leaving Examination the pretence, till then religiously kept up, that the learned professions and the people still spoke two different languages, has also been laid aside. Medical men, lawyers, clergymen, teachers, scholars no longer affect the need of a secret language, as they did a few generations ago. The last remainders of Latin as a means of communication are disappearing everywhere, and all members of the nation now speak and write the same tongue. Indeed, for some time past, students have been admitted to the universities who no longer understand Latin at all. The spread of the *Reformgymnasium* points in the same direction. Latin, which used to begin when the pupils were six years old, being postponed in these institutions until

Progressive growth of an organic system of national education.

their twelfth year, ample room is gained for a common groundwork of education for the various types of secondary schools.

On the other hand, the primary school is extending its scope in the direction of the secondary school. The amplification of the curriculum of the ordinary primary school makes it easier for its pupils to pass on into the *Mittelschule* and the *Höhere Bürgerschule*, and thence, through the *Ober-Realschule*, even to the university. The reception of one foreign language into the course of the training colleges for primary teachers points to the fact that, in consequence of the ever-increasing international commerce, the teaching of one foreign language in the upper stage of the primary schools begins to be looked upon as lying within the range of future possibilities—at least in primary schools of that superior type which is to be found in large towns, especially in sea-ports and commercial centres. It has already been pointed out that the realisation of another ideal is furthered in this way—I mean, the homogeneous organisation of the whole teaching profession. At present, it is true, the difference between teachers who have been educated at training colleges and those who have gone through a university is still emphasised now and then with some acerbity. But at the same time there cannot be the slightest doubt that the differences between the education of the two classes of teachers have diminished very considerably during the last hundred years. The teachers educated at the new training colleges organised in 1901 will be able to point to so fair an amount of genuine scholarship that no *Höhere Bürgerschule*—even if it should enjoy the more imposing title of a *Realschule* and thus stand on the borders of secondary education—will need to be ashamed of them. The further extension

of university studies, the institution of joint courses of instruction and conferences, and perhaps the establishment of a Central Educational Council (*Oberschulrat*), which can, after all, only be a question of time, will further advance the national organisation of the whole teaching profession as a homogeneous body without gaps and chasms.

Another factor which tends to remove the inner obstacles to the mutual adjustment of these different spheres of education may be mentioned here—I mean that pronounced “realistic” element which is to be traced throughout the whole domain of modern education and which is at the root of the universal regard for the practical needs of reality, of work and of conduct in general. In the upper sphere the old type of education, purely æsthetic and literary, which was dominant a century ago, and which took possession of the *Gymnasium* in the form of Hellenistic classicism, has gradually lost its prestige. The world of actual reality has gained ground in the general esteem at the expense of that other world existing only in the imagination. Indeed, classical philology itself has become more realistic inasmuch as it no longer looks to classical antiquity for the realisation of the ideal of humanity but for historical reality, which had its limitations and its dark sides then as now. But this decline of the general regard for the beauties of the world of imagination is to be observed everywhere, and perhaps it is nowhere more evident than in the education of women. Another type of woman is in the ascendant, marked no longer by æsthetical sentimentality and artistic enthusiasm, but by a determined and resolute character and a taste for serious professional work. Under its influence the education of women has begun to be transformed.

In the schools for girls the sciences are gaining ground at the expense of linguistic and literary instruction, and their education is continued afterwards in the form of special training for various professions. The same tendency has long been evident in the schools for boys. Schools providing for the actual needs of modern life have conquered a place by the side of the secondary schools of the old humanistic type, and there is no doubt that the former will grow at the expense of the latter. In the same way the universities have not only made enormous strides themselves in the direction of this realistic development, but have found rivals in the technical colleges. At the same time the method of instruction is undergoing similar changes everywhere, from the universities down to the primary schools, the independent grasp and handling of reality taking the place of book-learning. At the universities, especially in the faculties of Natural Science and Medicine, the old type of teaching and learning with the help of text-books and by means of lectures has been more and more supplanted by the method of experiment and original research. The same development is taking place in the schools and will, no doubt, make further progress. The United States and England have forestalled Germany by the institution of laboratories and workshops in the schools. In those countries, even in the primary schools, the pupils are brought in contact with the world of real things for the purposes of observation and manipulation. All this has led to the differences of education being toned down to a certain degree. There can hardly be any doubt that these differences make themselves less felt if education proceeds on realistic and technical than if it proceeds on æsthetic and literary lines. Above all, intellectual

pride finds a much more congenial soil in the domain of æsthetic criticism, of linguistic and literary studies than of natural science and technology. Practical work brings men together and engenders their mutual esteem, who, in mere conversation, would never have understood and met each other. To this day the genuine type of intellectual pride has always been the privilege of the philologists. The increasing popularity of athletic exercises and games forms another tendency in the same direction. When the time shall have come for every town and every village to have a playground of its own, where the young can meet to measure their strength with each other, this will afford another rallying point for all those who have hitherto been strangers to each other in consequence of the rigid boundary lines between the different types of education.

In the last place I will mention the endeavours, Art and the nation. which have lately met with some success, to restore art and the people to each other—and they certainly belong together. For art is a universal medium for the expression of ideas—much more so than science, which must always cease to be popular at a certain point. And the development of the Fine Arts themselves follows the same direction. Any one who places the works of Thorwaldsen side by side with those of Constantin Meunier, must realise at once that even sculpture, the most stubborn art of all, is becoming more popular in spirit. On the one side we see the representation of the graceful play, native to the world of the Olympian gods; on the other the representation of work and physical effort derived from the life of our own people and intelligible to everyone without further assistance. Now it will hardly be wrong to say that anything that serves to revive the artistic sense and the taste

for refined pleasures amongst the broad masses of the population tends at the same time to tone down existing differences of education. In this respect nothing deserves more to be encouraged than the development of the natural instinct to imitate and copy the forms of things. The old routine of geometrical drawing is credited with having, in many cases, paralysed rather than stimulated the formative instinct as implanted by Nature. The new method, based on the actual perception of real things, may be expected to preserve and stimulate the joyful exercise of the perceptive and creative powers. If drawing is taught according to this method—and it follows of itself that it will then be supplemented by painting—it will further encourage those sound realistic tendencies in that it will lead schools and scholars from the world of books to that of real things, from book-learning, mechanically acquired by heart, to practical skill, keeping senses and hands at work. At the same time it will come in useful in later life for many practical purposes in every department at the arts and of the handicrafts. If the practice is continued in all the various types of adult and technical schools, the exercise of this faculty may indeed become an important element in the life of all classes of the population.*

The
people.

All these endeavours on the part of the authorities are met half-way by a powerful upward tendency on the part of the masses of the population. There never was a time when there existed a more widespread hunger for education than at present. This

* An excellent book by a member of the Munich School Board, Mr Kerschensteiner, entitled *Die Entwicklung der zeichnerischen Begabung*, 1905, deserves to be mentioned here. He shows how the instruction in drawing can be made an important means of bringing the children in contact with the world of real things and of developing the creative powers.

is connected with the further fact that there never was a time when it was more possible for anyone to raise himself to a higher position and sphere of activity by the exercise of his own faculties. The elastic and sanguine optimism of the New World on the other side of the Atlantic, where the road is free for every one to follow the bent of his individual inclinations and gifts, regardless of considerations of birth and descent, cannot fail to exercise a reviving influence on the Old World. For is not every one free to cross the ocean? And why, then, should not another New World grow up on the soil of the Old World itself? The powerful Labour Movement, which dominates our times, is open to many reproaches. One may blame its leaders for their indifference towards the national spirit, although I cannot help thinking that, in case of war, that indifference would soon turn out to have been a mere hollow party phrase suggested from without. One may blame them for the truculent tone of their agitation and the recklessness with which they dispose of the future. But for all that it is a great upward movement. The masses have roused themselves from their indolent existence, alternating between apathetic submission to the yoke of labour and gross sensual pleasures. An idea of the future has come to life in them and is enlisting all their energies, and an abundance of active interests has thus been set free. Nature and history hold converse with men who have a question to ask—the question of the future. A vast literature of books and periodicals has come into being, turning the searchlight of this new idea on all departments of social life. However far this literature may leave scientific exactness and critical caution, however far it may leave truth behind, one thing is to be said

in its favour:—it is read, studied and assimilated with passionate enthusiasm. Indeed, it is only for the sake of this literature that the masses have become readers at all. Nor do I doubt that, amongst the energies set free by the modern Labour Movement, moral forces are to be found such as self-command and self-discipline, self-devotion and self-sacrifice for a great cause. And be the cause in itself good and possible or not, the value of those moral forces remains the same, and they will not be lost. Perhaps the old experience will repeat itself here of the man who went out to search for a dreamland and found a real world. The Social Democratic Utopia may not be destined to be realised anywhere in the world; but if it succeeds in awakening new ideas and forces in our modern society, reposing in indolent ease on power and tradition, it has fulfilled its purpose.

A hopeful
prospect.

Upon the whole there is no department of historical life which could give our souls greater encouragement to take a hopeful view of the future than the history of education. One idea, most intimately connected with the destiny of our race, seems to outlast here all the changes of political events and to obtain an ever firmer hold—the idea of humanity unfolding itself more and more luxuriantly in the fulness of time and the diversity of nations. In the domain of education peaceful rivalry and hospitable interchange obtain between the same nations which, as competitors for power and wealth, hate each other to the point of war. The hospitality of educational institutions goes back to their very beginnings. On the same neutral soil, concord, mutual understanding and confidence will be able to take root between the classes which, in political and social life, are at feud with each other. No hope could be brighter than this, that those who have been estranged should here,

in an atmosphere of mutual concession, learn to appreciate each other.

But the ideal of a true national education would not be equal education of all, but rather a maximum of individual development corresponding to the infinite variety of tasks, of powers and of gifts produced by the creative forces of Nature, on the basis of a homogeneous education of the whole people, forming part, in its turn, of the universal education of mankind, conceived as an organic whole. And the ideal of a national educational system would be an organisation giving every single individual a chance to attain to a maximum of personal culture and social efficiency according to his natural gifts and the strength of his will.

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